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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

SHCHERBITSKIY DELIVERS REPORT TO UKRAINIAN PARTY CC

LD112155 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Jul 86

[Text] The tasks of party organizations arising from the decisions of the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee plenum and draft plans for economic and social development of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSR's in the 12th 5-Year Plan were discussed today at plena of these republics' communist parties' central committees.

Kiev: The draft of the republic's new 5-year plan, it was emphasized at the plenum, is in keeping with the tasks of the key directions and for a number of indices exceeded them. It is planned to increase by 14 percent the average annual gross output in agriculture. In order to increase efficiency, the number of one-off construction projects is being significantly reduced. Important measures are planned for the implementation of the social program. The reader of the report, Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and speakers noted that the republic's economy is developing in accordance with the acceleration course laid down by the party.

The participants of the plenum were briefed on the progress of work in eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, for which the best scientific and technical forces of the country are being mobilized. Tasks were set for making good the losses caused by the accident to the power industry and other industries.

The plenum devoted close attention to tasks in the further democratization of public life, development of criticism and self-criticism and improving the political and ideo-educational work of party organizations.

Kishinev: Measures adopted by the communists of Moldavia for restructuring work in consideration of present-day demands are having a positive effect on practical results. In comparison with the corresponding period last year, the republic's industrial enterprises have increased the volume of output. Agricultural workers have exceeded their tasks in the sales of meat, milk and eggs to the state. These facts were cited at the plenum. The reader of the report, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Grossu, and the speakers noted that the rates of advance still continues to be held back by the passivity and paralyzed psyche of some workers, which have not yet been finally overcome. All this complicates the solution of economic and social tasks. The plenum laid down specific measures for correcting the existing significant shortcomings.

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

GROSSU SPEECH AT MOLDAVIAN KOMSOMOL PLENUM

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 8 Jun 86 pp 1-2

[Speech by Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S. K. Grossu at the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee Plenum: "Acceleration Through the Energy and Inquiry of Youth"]

[Text] Activating the creative potential of young people, making fuller use of their energy, broad philosophy, education and readiness for action: Such was the task posed before the Leninist Komsomol by the 27th CPSU Congress. As with all of the country's young generation, young people of Soviet Moldavia adopted the decisions of the party forum as a mandatory guide, and they will execute these decisions. The business-like mood and the atmosphere of adherence to party principles, exactingness and maximum purposefulness in practical actions, created by the congress, elicited the avid approval of young people. Young men and women are trying to support through concrete deeds the course charted by the party toward acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

The tasks of the republic's Komsomol organizations concerned with fulfilling decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 16th Moldavian Communist Party Congress were discussed at the 18th Plenum of the Moldavian Leninist Komsomol Central Committee held on 7 June. A speech was given by Moldavian Leninist Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary I. I. Buzhenitsa.

The resolution adopted in response indicated the paths of restructuring the work style of Komsomol committees, and of surmounting the formalism and stereotypic approach present in their work and so decisively condemned by the party.

Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S. K. Grossu gave a speech at the plenum.

The plenum examined the issue of organization. V. G. Apostolova was relieved of her responsibilities as secretary and bureau member of the Moldavian Leninist Komsomol Central

Committee in connection with transfer to other work. T. P. Vernigorova, who had served formerly as secretary of the Tiraspol City Komsomol Committee, was elected secretary and bureau member of the Moldavian Leninist Komsomol Central Committee.

Candidate Member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau V. K. Pshenichnikov and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Secretary N. K. Dolgushkin took part in the plenum. (ATEM)

Dear comrades!

Today you are discussing the most important issue of your activity--the tasks of the republic's Komsomol concerned with fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian Communist Party Congress. This naturally made an impression on the course of the plenum. It is proceeding in the spirit of the requirements of the party to translate the criteria and evaluations of the CPSU Congress into the plane of practical affairs, of practical reorganization of the work of all organizations, including in the Komsomol.

The results of the 27th Congress and the tasks implied by its decisions have already been discussed at plenums of party committees and meetings of primary party organizations. They have become a topic of comprehensive examination at meetings of the soviets of peoples deputies, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and the governing boards of ministries and departments. The serious, business-like discussion at these meetings revealed everywhere the orientation of the people toward concrete living work, and their desire to achieve a situation where the atmosphere, created by the congress, of high party principles, exactingness and maximum purposefulness in practical actions would be instilled everywhere, in every labor collective.

But let me note right away that there also have been Komsomol meetings in which owing to poor preparation for them, the stereotypic approach condemned by the party and the desire to carry out a particular measure and settle accounts with the city or rayon Komsomol committee as quickly as possible still persist. This once again confirms the urgent need for eradicating eyewash and formalism from the Komsomol, and for decisively restructuring Komsomol work from the bottom up.

I.

As we know, the economy was and continues to be the main sphere of activity of the party and people. It is precisely here that the prerequisites for achieving a new qualitative state in the society are created. The party's strategic course requires that we move the economy to a higher trajectory of development--the trajectory of acceleration, and that we switch the national economy to the rails of intensification. •

In the 12th Five-Year Plan our republic must raise the mean annual growth rate of national income by 4.9 percent, as compared to the 4.6 percent reached in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Acceleration of economic growth must be achieved by reducing the materials-intensiveness of national income by 5.5 percent and its energy-intensiveness by 10.5 percent. The industrial production volume is to increase by 22-25 percent, while agriculture's mean annual gross production must be increased by 16 percent.

We can reach these goals only if we mobilize the efforts of all laborers to fulfill planned quotas. And to do this, we must see that the high spiritual and moral mood created by the party penetrates increasingly deeper into the lives of the labor collectives, and that every urban and rural laborer generates the ability and the desire to think and work in the new way, and to do his work conscientiously, with full commitment of effort and knowledge.

The last few months of the current year show that positive changes have begun occurring in the thinking and actions of our people. Intolerance of the negative phenomena of previous years and of violations of labor discipline and order is intensifying, the labor enthusiasm of the masses and responsibility of personnel are rising, and production is undergoing organizational and technical restructuring. As a consequence the economy is becoming more dynamic.

The rate of increase of industrial production in 5 months of this year exceeded the rate attained last year by more than double. Fourteen percent more fixed capital was placed into operation in capital construction than in the corresponding period of last year, and 39 percent more housing was introduced. Meat production increased by 18 percent, while milk production increased by 5 percent.

The effort of the republic's young to solve national economic problems has risen as well. Indicative in this respect is the following comparison: while 2 years ago one out of every three Komsomol youth collectives worked on the basis of brigade orders, today it is one out of every two.

While giving the positive changes in the economy's development their due, we should note that the rate of growth of labor productivity and of production quality is still low at many enterprises, contracted product delivery obligations are being violated, and production cost is decreasing too slowly. These shortcomings are to a significant degree the consequence of the fact that the Moldavian national economy is switching to the rails of intensification too slowly, that in many places where reequipment of the enterprises is mistakenly interpreted as someone else's problem, one concerning the republic in general, an energetic search for the possible ways of accelerating the accomplishments of science and technology and introducing them into production is not being carried out.

Held in April, the Second Plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee turned the attention of the republic party organization, of executives and of labor collectives to this problem, and it once again

emphasized the importance of solving the problems of reequipping the national economy without delay.

Today, discussing the tasks of the republic's Komsomol organizations concerned with fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian Communist Party Congress, we must keep in mind chiefly their efforts to indoctrinate the young in the spirit of a creative attitude toward labor, of innovativeness, and the desire to promote acceleration of technical progress in every subdivision to the greatest extent possible and to actively participate in the development of scientific and design creativity and in the movement of efficiency experts and inventors.

The republic has experience in such work. During the 11th Five-Year Plan young innovators submitted over 23,000 efficiency proposals and invention claims. Many brilliant design developments by young inventors were exhibited last year at an exhibition of the scientific-technical creativity of youth.

However, judging by today's standards the work being done to utilize the creative potential of young people, we must say that it is clearly lacking, and that its effectiveness is often low. Things are especially bad in this respect with young people employed by the agroindustrial complex, by construction, by the public services and by transportation. In these sectors, participants of the scientific-technical creativity of youth represent only 5-6 percent of the total number of young people. The same old reason is behind all of this: Many times the Komsomol has failed to finish what it began. This is a serious shortcoming in the work style of Komsomol organizations, and it must be corrected decisively.

Acceleration of scientific-technical progress presupposes radical improvement of the use of natural resources, materials, fuel and energy in all stages of production--from extraction and full processing of raw materials to production and utilization of the end product. The party teaches that the most important thing in solving this problem is to economize everywhere and in all things, and widely introduce resource-conserving production procedures.

One of the effective forms of participation of the republic's Komsomol members and young people in this effort is the Komsomol economization account. There are over 4 million rubles in this account today. Young laborers of the cities of Bendery, Beltsy and Tiraspol, and in Kutuzovskiy and other rayons are carrying on the work of intensifying economization with the best results. Unfortunately there are many Komsomol organizations which have never determined what it is they must do to achieve economization, and which are not making a principled evaluation of cases of squandering raw materials and fuel, and of making inefficient use of machinery, machine tools and equipment. Only 20 percent of the young workers and kolkhoz farmers and only one out of every three primary Komsomol organizations are maintaining personal economization accounts in the republic.

The republic's Komsomol must devote more attention to developing the initiative of young people in all-out economization of resources, instill a careful

attitude toward socialist property in young people, raise the role of "Komsomol Searchlight" staffs and posts in the struggle against waste, and ensure effectiveness, purposefulness and wide visibility of the results of their raids and inspections. Encouraging young people to join the struggle for economization and for sensible use of material resources must be considered in close unity with developing economic thinking in young men and women. The Komsomol has great possibilities in this direction, but for the moment they are being utilized inadequately.

The party clearly determined that acceleration of scientific-technical progress is directly and mutually related to solving the problems of radically raising product quality. Turning attention to this, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that the task of fundamentally improving product quality "must become the business...of every Soviet citizen, of all who respect their labor, of all to whom the honor of the enterprise, the sector, the honor of our motherland means something."

Most Komsomol organizations correctly understand their role in solving this problem. For example young men and women at the Mikroprovod Plant are competing for high product quality in different groups with regard for time of service, age and qualifications. The products of 98.8 percent of the plant's working young are accepted at their first presentation, and one out of every four young people has the privilege of tagging his work with a "Komsomol Guarantee of Quality" label.

But there are Komsomol organizations that run hot and cold in their efforts to improve product quality, that study progressive experience poorly, and that participate weakly in its introduction. This can be the only explanation for the fact that the initiative proposed over 10 years ago by Komsomol members of the Tiraspol Clothing Production Association imeni 40-Letiye VLKSM to create outstanding-quality start-to-finish brigades never did achieve universal acceptance.

The republic's Komsomol must always remember that solving the problems of raising product quality is a dependable means of intensifying production and achieving fuller satisfaction of the public's demand for various articles, and it must do everything necessary to see that every young man and woman would fulfill his or her patriotic duty honorably, and achieve production of articles strictly of high quality. This requires wider use of labor rivalry, development of a competition among outstanding-quality start-to-finish brigades and between associated collectives, and concern for constant growth of the occupational proficiency of young people.

Discussing the tasks of the Komsomol in the effort to intensify production, I would like to dwell on its work in the agroindustrial complex, and especially in agriculture, where people interested in working actively, with high occupational proficiency and innovativeness, are needed today more than ever before.

The republic's Komsomol took the right line in this sphere of the economy, having declared its patronage over livestock breeding and land reclamation.

These are precisely the areas of work upon which solution of the food problem now depends in many ways.

For example the actions taken by the Grigoriopolskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee to improve the work of the cattle fattening complex at Grigoriopolskiy Sovkhoz deserve full approval. The rayon committee sent 14 young men and women to work there. They joined their peers who were already working there to create Komsomol youth collectives, they organized a socialist competition, they cleaned up the complex's territory, they set up a Red Nook, with the assistance of the sovkhos's communists and executives they improved the organization of the leisure time of the stock breeders and the availability of industrial goods to them, and so on. As a result young people became more willing to seek employment at the complex, labor discipline grew tighter, and production began to climb.

But I am compelled to assert that this approach is typical of far from all Komsomol collectives. A year ago the Sorokskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee announced that it was assuming patronage over the lagging dairy farm of Progress Kolkhoz, but since then it has done practically nothing to improve its work. Labor and production discipline continues to be violated, manual labor is flourishing, the personal needs of the stock breeders are not being met, and their leisure time has not been organized.

This case demonstrates that some Komsomol workers prefer loud talk, that Komsomol workers who love to talk and to make promises but who lack the desire or the ability to finish what they start, abandoning their effort half-way, have not yet changed their ways.

It would be nice to supplement Komsomol patronage over lagging stock breeding farms by patronage over economically weak farms in the 12th Five-Year Plan. This should become one of the most important directions of the work of rural Komsomol members and of rural rayon Komsomol committees. This has become necessary because the 27th CPSU Congress called for significantly accelerating development of the agroindustrial sector and doubling the rate of agricultural production through its intensification and through better utilization of the accomplishments of science and technology. To achieve this objective, we would understandably have to turn attention first of all to those farms suffering a sluggish economy.

This year land irrigation acquired special significance in connection with unfavorable weather. I am referring on one hand to accelerating water management operations, to placing irrigation systems into operation promptly, and on the other hand to significantly improving and expanding irrigated agriculture. The situation today is such that all possibilities for irrigation, even minimum ones, must be fully utilized. We need to make full use of the state irrigation system, of local irrigation systems, water from artesian wells and other irrigation water sources. The attention of all rural laborers, and especially the young, must be riveted on this problem. We await a serious test of our readiness to achieve high results in the most difficult conditions.

The Komsomol has always been together with the party at the cutting edge of the struggle for high yields. It is my hope that in the fight for the 1985 harvest you will be up to your task.

The sphere of Komsomol activities concerned with accelerating socioeconomic development is exceptionally great. Besides active participation in intensifying industrial and agricultural production, this sphere includes the contributions made by young people to the development of science and culture and to solution of social problems facing the republic, and specific work at facilities under construction, in transportation and in other important areas. It is very important today for each young worker to look at the work he is doing from a fresh, more-demanding viewpoint no matter where he is working, and to ask himself whether or not he is doing everything to ensure fulfillment of the plans and satisfaction of the pledges of the 12th Five-Year Plan and of its first year. This is what is most important today.

II.

There are many young school and university students in the Komsomol, and of course, they must delve more deeply into the activities of educational institutions.

As is true in the country as a whole, a school reform is presently going on in the republic. Reports from the countryside indicate that implementation of the planned measures is lagging in a number of rayons. Improvements in the training and educational process cannot be noticed in all places. Many Komsomol committees are not providing dependable support to pedagogical collectives in solving the problems facing the schools today. Among young workers in national education we often encounter indifferent people who lack awareness of their responsibility for restructuring the school in the spirit of the reform's requirements. The Komsomol should react more actively to such cases.

It must be said that there is a lack of teachers in the republic in connection with the mass transition to sending children six years old to school. The Komsomol is doing far from all it can in this issue. Last year only half of the applicants seeking admission to teacher training institutions on the basis of Komsomol passes were enrolled. As before, there are few young people among those desiring to specialize in education.

The work of the primary Komsomol organizations of general schools and of vocational-technical schools is in need of serious improvement. These schools are not independent and resourceful enough. Because of excessive interference by adults, real self-government is often substituted in these schools by unimaginative organization. The attraction to mass measures, to a "gross" approach to work with children and adolescents has not been surmounted. It is time to take on these shortcomings energetically.

The summer vacations of schoolchildren require special concern from Komsomol organizations. A large group of children from Chernobyl and from other places

in Kiev Oblast are presently vacationing in the republic's Pioneer camps. To do everything necessary to see that the children do not simply rest but also make good use of their time is the duty and responsibility of the central committee, the city committees and the rayon committees of the Moldavian Komsomol.

Most urban children of our republic will vacation at their places of residence this year--in city Pioneer camps and playfields. This obligates all of us to carefully think out the organization of their leisure time, and to prevent repetition of the mistakes and shortcomings of previous years. All extracurricular cultural and educational institutions, athletic facilities and tourist organizations must work at their full load. And of course, a good diet and adequate medical and public health supervision must be provided to schoolchildren. This is a task of not only the Komsomol but also the pedagogical collectives, the sponsoring enterprises, the trade unions, the communal housing organizations, the ministries and the departments. Party organs and organizations are called upon to take charge of this work.

Each year around 20,000 young specialists enter the work force of the republic's national economy. The Komsomol organizations of institutions of higher education and of secondary special educational institutions must see that graduates possess qualities such as civic maturity and a high level of culture and efficiency. Many things are being done in this direction. But, frankly speaking, the participation of Komsomol organizations in the fight to tighten training discipline and to form high professional qualities in future specialists is clearly inadequate.

According to the results of the summer examination session of last year, 10,200 students, or 9 percent of their total, received unsatisfactory scores, and over 7,500 were promoted to the next grade with incompletes that had to be made up. One out of every three graduates received only a satisfactory score in the state examination on scientific communism. The dropout rate of students from educational institutions continues to be unjustifiably high. I should add to this that hundreds of VUZ and tekhnikum graduates fail to get employment in keeping with their specialization each year. After all, these are Komsomol members for the most part, and among them we encounter young people who served as active Komsomol members.

The Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee and the city and rayon Komsomol committees must strengthen their leadership over the activities of the Komsomol organizations of training institutions, they must demand that these organizations devote more attention to improving the work of Komsomol groups and individual work with Komsomol members, and they must raise the role and significance of student self-government organs and encourage their activity more.

As is emphasized in the draft Basic Directions of Restructuring Higher and Secondary Special Education in the Country, we need to create an atmosphere of intense struggle for knowledge in the student collectives, and we must promote the fullest possible development of the capabilities and endowments of the young. All-out development of rivalry in learning must be put at

the top of a list of all of the work of organizing the educational activities of students, and the responsibility of students for the results of their training must be raised.

III.

The inertia and stagnation of many forms and methods of our work, including the work of Komsomol organizations, was openly discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress. The initiative and independence of the young are often suppressed by excessive interference and regulation.

Komsomol workers have admitted on many occasions at plenums of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee and in city and rayon Komsomol committees that fundamental improvements have not occurred in the style, forms and methods of the activities of Komsomol committees. Much was also said today about the need for reorganization. But for practical purposes little is being done in this direction. We must divorce ourselves from this practice once and forever; we must learn not only to talk about our shortcomings but also to do everything necessary to eliminate them and prevent their recurrence. The task of the Komsomol is precisely to teach every Komsomol member to self-critically analyze his activities, and develop his ability to add a communist perspective to his daily work, and to energetically and effectively solve the problem of accelerating socioeconomic development.

The arsenal of the forms and methods of Komsomol work is rich, but unfortunately it is not always utilized correctly and effectively. Examining problems at a Komsomol bureau and adopting resolutions in regard to them continues to be the main form of work used by many Komsomol committees. Some rayon committees adopt over a hundred resolutions in a year. We could hardly expect any benefit from this paper smoke screen that conceals what is really going on. Flooded with office business, the organizational affairs instructor of the Chernenkovskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee was unable to pry himself away for even an hour in almost all of May to visit a primary Komsomol organization and provide it practical assistance. This is not an isolated case: It is a mass phenomenon.

It was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress that criticism and self-criticism must occupy a firm, permanent place in the life of our society as a tried and true method of improving our activity. All that hinders forward progress and acceleration of our development must be subjected to sharp criticism. Today I would like to turn special attention of the republic's active Komsomol members to this party requirement. After all, we frequently encounter cases where members or candidate members of a rayon Komsomol committee speak up at plenums not on their own initiative but at the request of the rayon committee administrative staff. As a result Komsomol rayon committee secretaries escape any criticism.

We must put an end to this practice, we must develop criticism and self-criticism in every possible way, we must intensify the fight against showiness, and we must correct those Komsomol workers and young executives who avidly

approve reorganization in words, and provide encouragement to it, but act in the old way, and additionally, those who take criticism addressed at them the wrong way. A spade must be called a spade everywhere and in all things; everything must be judged on its own merits, and high exactingness and honesty must be displayed everywhere and in all things.

Nor have radical changes yet occurred in the style of the activities of the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, its bureau, its secretariat and its divisions. While the flow of paperwork has diminished somewhat, concreteness and, I would say, efficiency are still lacking in the practical work of the administrative staff and the elected active Komsomol members.

Let me cite one fact: In 1984-1985 the Kutuzovskiy Rayon Komsomol organization was visited by workers of the Komsomol Central Committee 41 times for a total of 156 visiting days. Nonetheless matters did not improve here--they even worsened. The membership of the rayon Komsomol organization decreased, the number of communists working in the Komsomol diminished, and around 8 percent of the Komsomol members dropped out without word and did not return.

Or take another example. Last year only one out of every two plenums of Moldavian Komsomol city and rayon committees proceeded with the participation of a worker from the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, while secretaries and division directors of the central committee took part in only one out of every four. Secretaries and division directors of the Komsomol Central Committee did not take part in plenum proceedings for 2 years in the Lazovskiy, Leovskiy, Novoanenskiy, Orgeyevskiy, Chadyr-Lungskiy and Leninskiy rayon Komsomol organizations, even though the activities of these organizations were criticized on several occasions at meetings of central committee governing board organs. Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee secretaries attended only seven Komsomol meetings in which tasks implied by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress were examined.

All of these are serious shortcomings. The republic's Komsomol Central Committee and its city and rayon committees must seriously improve the forms and methods of their activities in the spirit of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress, of the well-known CPSU Central Committee decree on the report of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Raising Its Role in Communist Indoctrination of Youth," and they must support and themselves suggest and follow through on interesting initiatives concerned with putting some life into Komsomol work. We need to fight for an organic combination of deep competency and a creative approach to the work, of innovation and traditions, of control over fulfillment of orders and its organization. We need to stick to our principles in evaluating the work done, and display an ability to go beyond customary but now obsolete ideas. We need to decisively rid ourselves of the ballast of obsolete procedures and viewpoints, and surmount the inertia of thinking. We must not become boastful of the favorable statistics of "large-scale" measures, which sometimes overshadow flaws in individual work.

There are still many things to do in improving work with personnel and their reserve. It was noted at the 16th Moldavian Communist Party Congress that mistakes were made in this work, as is evidenced by cases of gross violations of moral rules by some workers. A number of effective measures were recently implemented to correct the situation. The qualitative composition of personnel, including Komsomol workers, has improved, and their responsibility has risen.

But at the same time the shortcomings in selection, placement and indoctrination of personnel have not yet been fully corrected. This area requires constant, persistent attention. In particular we need to study the work qualities of a given worker more deeply before his promotion. This is often done now in formal terms only. The opinion of labor collectives is not fully heeded. The significance of performance reports is understated. While in former times positive qualities were listed stereotypically and there was practically no assessment made of the negative aspects of the worker in his performance report, today we have gone to the other extreme, listing his shortcomings in a standard way. Thus we find that almost all Komsomol workers are either "excessively hot tempered" or they "display rashness in making decisions on certain issues." Other negative qualities are rarely encountered in the performance reports. This is another manifestation of formalism in work with personnel.

The high replacement rate of personnel is a serious shortcoming. Last year half or even more than half of the second secretaries, division directors and instructors of Komsomol city and rayon committees were replaced. Frequent replacements do not do any good: They encourage an influx of part-time workers, of irresponsible people. To avoid such a high replacement rate we need to improve personnel selection. We need to find workers who could be entrusted with leadership in various areas of the work, and who would not have to be replaced soon after owing to their inability to carry out their assigned work.

The requirements imposed on personnel are universally known. The Komsomol leader is obligated to be tactful toward people, sensitive to their needs and requests; he must be honest and proper, and he must serve as an example at work and at home. He must combine within himself high political, business and moral qualities, and he must enjoy the respect of Komsomol members and young people.

Discussing work with personnel, I would like to turn your attention to another shortcoming--the poor work with young specialists. A good attitude toward young specialists and what would seem to be a reasonable plan of working with them were developed at the Faleshty Machine Building Plant. But all of this is just on paper. Practically no one at the enterprise is interested in the affairs and problems of young specialists, and little is being done to improve their working conditions and their personal and leisure time. The enterprise leadership does not delve into the work of the young specialists council, and the Komsomol committee has absented itself from this area as well. As a consequence, of the 73 young specialists who joined the plant in the 11th Five-Year Plan, 53 left; moreover, most of them left the republic.

Work with young specialists is an important area of Komsomol work, and it must be raised to the level of modern requirements.

Comrades! As you know, the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that the future will be determined in many ways by how we prepare our young people today. This is a task of the whole party, of all the people. And this is the most important, fundamental task of the Leninist Komsomol.

The decisions of the party congress obligate Komsomol organizations to increase their efforts in ideological indoctrination of young people. More so than any other type of work, this work does not tolerate stagnation or an indifferent attitude. Unfortunately, we often encounter cases of a simplified approach to it. Serious flaws in military patriotic indoctrination were discussed at the 16th Congress of the Moldavian Communist Party. The fact that an uncompromising struggle against drunkenness had not become an object of special concern of the Komsomol was discussed as well. Sometimes it also happens that concern for the living, breathing individual is lost beneath an avalanche of figures and all kinds of campaigns. We cannot condone such an approach to this work.

I am convinced by the steadfastness of the young. Having absorbed the noble ideas of communism beginning in the first steps of their conscious life, and having realized the happiness of living and working in a society of social justice, they have always been and will always be invariably faithful to the banner of Lenin, to the cause of the party and people, to the ideals of peace and social progress. Concurrently the party and Komsomol are intensifying their ideological and mass political work among the young, keeping in mind that the strong ideological convictions and high moral merits of young men and women are the moral core which makes the young person strong and bold, that makes him ready to work selflessly and display unequalled heroism for the good of the socialist fatherland. The party wants the young people of the Country of the Soviets to be ideologically tempered, devoted to their motherland, devoted to the ideals of their fathers as they continue their work--the great work of building communism in our country.

Posing the task of accelerating socioeconomic development and achieving a fundamental turning point in the life of Soviet society, the CPSU is counting on the young, on their enormous creative potential. And this hope rests on that indisputable historical fact that young people today are worthy successors and continuers of the traditions of previous generations. They are distinguished, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, by broad philosophy, education and energy. They are ready for action, they are seeking ways to display their abilities in all areas of social life.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee firmly believes that the republic's young men and women, who are inspired by decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, will spare no effort in their work to implement its greatest plans.

(Applause)

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

DOBRYNIN DISCUSSES REPUBLIC'S ECONOMY WITH KAZAKH BURO

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 86 p 1

[KAZTAG article: "Discussion in the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 19 May, a discussion took place in the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee between Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee A.F. Dobrynin, who has arrived in Alma-Ata, and members and candidate members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro.

D.A. Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist party Central Committee, related how party organizations and workers' collectives in the republic are putting the tasks enacted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Kazakh Communist Party Congress into practice. Special attention is paid to utilization of reserves and opportunities to increase the rate of improvement for labor productivity and product quality, including consumer goods, as well as to maintenance of an economical, thrifty production routine, to expansion of the contribution of Kazakh people to implementing food and energy programs and to acceleration of the country's social and economic development.

During the discussion, the necessity to achieve quicker scientific and technical progress in industry, construction, agriculture, transport and all sectors of the national economy, as well as the implementation of the "Intensification-90" program was emphasized. Sovkhozes, kolkhozes, "Gosagroprom" organs and party organizations face ensuring that spring sowing and other agriculture and livestock raising work carried out within better time limits and in a high-quality manner and with implementing the plan and socialist obligations for expansion of production and sales of grain, meat, milk and other products from the agroindustrial complex to the state.

The importance of constant improvement in the style and methods of political and organizational activity of party committees, councils of national deputies, professional trade unions, komsomol and other social organizations, and all of the labor force was indicated. Ideological and moral education of workers must be improved; discipline and order must be more persistently reinforced in every sector and the responsibility of the labor force for matters entrusted to them must be heightened. More attention should be paid to satisfying inquiries from the public, to developing all services and to further expanding socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of plans for the current year and the 12th Five-Year Plan.

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LISSR'S GRISHKYAVICHUS SPEAKS AT OPENING OF PRINTING PRESS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 May 86 p 1

[ELTA article: "Mass Information Media: Position on Active Reorganization"]

[Text] As has already been reported, a publishing house has opened in the Virshulishkes Rayon of Vilnius where the printing press of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House and editorial office of the republic newspaper printed here are housed. On 21 May, P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee visited the publishing house. He became acquainted with conditions of press operations and the editorial office and he met with journalists.

L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Yu. Kuolyalis, head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; B. Alyukonis, administrator of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; and other responsible party and Soviet officials took part in the inspection of the publishing house and the meeting.

A discussion took place with directors of the mass information and propaganda media. L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee began the discussion with introductory remarks.

Comrade P. Grishkyavichus gave a speech. He emphasized that the 27th CPSU Congress armed the party and people with programmed documents and a strategy for acceleration. The main thing now is to fill the atmosphere created by the congress with ideas and causes and to organize a specific and candid discussion in the press about putting the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress into practice.

It's now necessary to direct organizational and political work so the national economy will fulfill the plan for the current year and the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole. In the realm of economics, it's necessary to resolve, in a logical manner, the issues of acceleration of scientific and technical progress, organization of labor, improvement of product quality, utilization of reserves, and reinforcement of labor, production, and contractual discipline.

The press has already done quite a lot to reorganize its work along new lines; it has begun to raise complex and, at times, new issues. Newspapers, periodicals and television reflect all the more completely our dynamic life with its great changes. However, the mass information media still hasn't realized its possibilities. There's no sense of in-depth analysis and there is not always a generalization in published reports, radio and television broadcasts and ELTA information. Inertness and dullness are not yet overcome. The struggle for the new and progressive is still reflected with insufficient energy and, at times, superficially. And the fact is, there is no more pressing task now than the propaganda of experience generated by life which makes it possible to resolve problems in the acceleration of social and economic development.

The duty of journalists is not only to reveal shortcomings, but also to suggest practical ways to eliminate them. This work will be fruitful only in the case where criticism is accurate and specific and doesn't seek sensations. Therefore, the editorial staff must organize its forces on cooperative lines, reinforce ties with scientists and specialists and improve the qualifications of its workers.

In the press on the whole, there are too few critically analyzing articles and this includes those about works of literature and art. There are too few reviews of radio and television broadcasts.

Comrade P. Grishkyavichus drew attention to problems of further intensifying and broadening socialist democracy, having noted that our press, television and radio, and wire service agency are not utilizing opportunities available in this field. There is insufficient use of workers' letters to enhance openness on social and political life in the republic and on social processes. The press must do more to stimulate the initiative of the masses so the new will be actively supported and the struggle with bureaucratism, drunkenness, and other negative phenomena will be strengthened. The editorial staff itself must verify more of the critical letters.

The status of the journalist cadre has become a problem in the republic. It's necessary to attract new forces to the editorial office. In addition, there must be concern for the party and political educational level of workers in the press, television and radio. In the struggle for unity between word and deed, journalists are pledged to improve, in every way possible, the role of primary editing party organizations, to raise the responsibility and militance of every communist and to achieve complete implementation of decisions by party meetings and editorial plans.

In conclusion, Comrade P. Grishkyavichus said that the press, television and radio are pledged to be a genuine tribune for reorganization, by objectively, thoroughly and resolutely monitoring realization of congress decisions.

A. Pivoryunas, director of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House; A. Laurinchukas, editor of the TIYESA newspaper; V. Yemelyanov, editor of SOVETSKAYA LITVA newspaper; A. Virshulis, editor-in-chief of the periodical KOMMUNIST; Yu. Baushis, editor-in-chief of the periodical SHVITURIS; I. Yanuytis, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR State Committee on Radio and Television Broadcasting; and A. Stankys, director of the Litvian Wire Service Agency ELTA, appeared at the meeting.

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LISSR CP CC DISCUSSES WORK OF VERNACULAR YOUTH PAPER

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 May 86 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Improving Effectiveness of Critical Articles in KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA Newspaper"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee discussed the issue of the effectiveness of critical articles in the newspaper, KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA), in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The resolution notes that after the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the newspaper, KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA), began to pay more attention to problems in the daily life of young people. The business-like, critical tone of the newspaper was affirmed in the course of a discussion of pre-congress documents and especially after the 27th CPSU Congress. Problems of active participation by young people in the acceleration of social and economic development, improvement of management methods, a zealous attitude towards the public good, and affirmation of a healthy way of life are being raised in special assignment materials, readers' letters to the newspaper, articles and correspondence from journalists. In articles published by the newspaper, the role of komsomol organizations in the national search for ways to successfully work out tasks enacted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the necessity for a conscious and creative attitude towards work as a primary duty are accentuated; party measures to bring in order and discipline and to intensify the struggle with various sorts of negative phenomena are supported.

Issues of reinforcement of discipline and affirmation of order in production are raised in materials under the rubrics, "Labor Collective: Discipline, Efficiency, and Quality," and "We Are From the Komsomol Youth Brigade"; the traditional section, "Komsomol Searchlight," includes problems of a careful attitude towards raw materials, other materials, fuel and electroenergy and the rational utilization of technology. Editorial journalists, workers from the Vilnius City Internal Affairs Administration, OBKHSS [Department for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation], Lithuanian SSR procurators and members of komsomol operations detachments carry out inspections of stores, public eating enterprises and domestic

services with a view to improving service for the public and intensifying the struggle against unearned income, drunkenness and alcoholism.

Replies about measures being taken, which are regularly received by the editorial office, and numerous reader responses testify to the effectiveness of the newspaper's articles. As a consequence of material in the newspaper, criminal suits were brought against the manager of the Vilnius restaurant, "Medininkay," two shop assistants in the Klaipeda store "Ekspress," the director of the Rokishkskiy House of Culture, and the duty neurologist at the Pasvalskaya Rayon Hospital. Journalists are striving to occupy a principled position with regard to insufficiently argued answers to criticism by writing followup articles and commentaries.

In addition, the resolution emphasizes that the editorial staff of the KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA newspaper has not done everything to improve the effectiveness of each article in the youth newspaper. Some material is prepared without proper in-depth analysis and sometimes, there is a sensational slant. Some leading workers from individual ministries and departments and cities and rayons of the republic, as well as komsomol committees do not always respond on time or to the point to criticism in the KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA newspaper.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee approved the work of the KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA editorial staff to improve the militancy of this press organ. They recommend that the KOMYAUNIMO editorial staff, other youth publications and editorial staffs of all republic and local presses, and radio and television broadcasting more persistently and effectively lead the struggle to put the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress into practice, to accelerate the country's social and economic development and to affirm social justice in every sector of life.

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian LKSM [Leninist Communist Youth League] proposes a deeper probe into the problem of youth press operations and systematic support for good enterprises, constructive initiatives and individual articles from newspapers and periodicals, as well as better concern for the authority and effectiveness of its press organs.

Ministries and departments of the republic and local party organizations must respond on time and to the point to critical articles in the republic and local press, and television and radio broadcasts; they must hold officials strictly accountable for pro forma letter responses and unresponsiveness to criticism in the mass information and propaganda media.

Departments of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee are charged with taking the most important publications of the republic's press and critical radio and television broadcasts under their control, as well as with exerting all possible control on improvement of the effectiveness of mass information and propaganda media reports, and with pointedly responding to the facts of form letter response and suppression of criticism on the part of individuals and organizations.

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KAZAKH BURO EVALUATES CHIMKENT OBKOM PARTY WORK, GOSAGROPROM

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 86 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Buro of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro discussed the issue of the Chimkent Party Obkom's work to organize propaganda and explain materials from the 27th CPSU Congress and to mobilize workers for the implementation of its decisions.

It was noted that this work still lacks depth and a close tie with the solution of the tasks in the acceleration of social and economic development.

The Central Committee Buro pledged the party obkom to provide in-depth propaganda and explanation of the Political Report by the CPSU Central Committee, party programs and other congress materials, as well as to utilize the ideological wealth in full measure with a view to forming a solid Marxist-Leninist outlook and improving political culture, labor and social activism of the people. The obkom was pledged to aim all organizational, political and economic work at the successful implementation of plans and socialist obligations.

The obkom, gorkoms and raykoms of the party are pledged to implement a complex approach to propaganda of congress materials at plants, educational institutions and among the public's residences, as well as to more fully take into account the influence of the social realm on the acceleration of economic development and on the effectiveness of communist education.

Party committees and primary party organizations are pledged to persistently lead reorganization of style and methods of work, and to strengthen everywhere an atmosphere of initiative and efficiency, scrupulous demandingness, criticism and self-criticism. They are pledged to heighten the personal responsibility of leading personnel and the ideological activity for the status of propaganda and the explanation of congress decisions.

The issue of the work of the Eastern Department of VASKHNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin] on scientific maintenance of the

republic's agroindustrial complex was considered. It was emphasized that many institutions within the jurisdiction of the department have not taken a leading role in working out priority problems of the development of agricultural production. Scientific potential is not being effectively utilized.

The Central Committee Buro proposed that mobilization of collectives from scientific institutions to accelerate reorganization of their work, in light of the 27th CPSU Congress, be regarded as the most important task for Kazakh SSR "Gosagroprom" and the Presidium of the Eastern Department of VASKHNIL. It is charged with considering the distribution of scientific research institutes by region in the republic and with implementing the creation of a scientific production association in every oblast; further obligations are to improve planning and organization of research, to achieve a specific approach to the solution of priority problems in the intensification of production, to broaden joint research by the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences and VUZes and to strengthen the link between science and production.

Party obkoms and raykoms, and party organizations are pledged to strengthen the influence of scientific institutions on work, to persistently improve work with the labor force and to take decisive measures for the creation, in the collectives, of a businesslike and creative situation and the development of labor and political activism among scientists.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro approved an appeal by rural workers of Kokchetav Oblast to sovkhoz and kolkhoz workers, specialists from the agroindustrial complex and all the republic's workers for the upmost increase in fodder procurement in 1986.

Other decisions were also reached.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LOCAL ISPOLKOM FORCES CENTRAL MINISTRIES TO INCREASE ALLOCATIONS

Luznetsk Ispolkom Rejects Allocations

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by G. Alimov: "Events and Opinions: The Ispolkom Said 'No'"]

[Text] The Ispolkom of the Yuznetsk City Soviet of People's Deputies has rejected the capital-investments program, as proposed by the USSR Gosagroprom [State Committee for Agro-Industry] for the 12th Five-Year Plan. This was caused by the fact that, if the capital-investments plan is not revised, construction of the large plant for repairing the KamAZ heavy-duty trucks in this city of Penza Oblast could be brought to a halt.

OPINION OF V. FURCANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE ISPOLKOM, YUZNETSK CITY SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES.

We were compelled to take this decision. Just look at what a picture has developed: some 11,090,000 rubles have now been assimilated in construction operations, and 1,735,000 rubles for housing construction. And this with a plan of 3 million! The comprehensiveness of the construction has not been observed. On more than one occasion the Ispolkom has brought this to the attention of the USSR Goskonselkhoztekhnika [State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture], which has now been included within the USSR Gosagroprom [State Committee for Agro-Industry]. However, this problem still remains unresolved. Here now, for example, in the city the construction of purification facilities and sewer systems is conducted on proportional principles. The former USSR Goskonselkhoztekhnika was supposed to have turned over 840,000 rubles to put their first stage into operation. These funds have not been turned over. The start-up of the purification facilities, as planned for this year, has been threatened with disruption.

It was thought that the situation would be corrected in the 12th Five-Year Plan. The City Ispolkom received the plan of capital investments for the purpose of coordination. But it does not meet the requirements of the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers regarding the comprehensive construction of facilities being erected. Of the pre-planned 23 million rubles worth of construction-and-installation operations for housing and

civil types of facilities, provision has been made to allocate only 1.9 million rubles. But approximately 7 million rubles should be allocated. According to the plan, the start-up of the plant's first stage is intended to be at the end of the 12th Five Year Plan, with the number of workers amounting to more than 2,000. It must be asked just how the client intends to recruit a complete staff of workers for this plant if one takes into account the fact that it is situated more than three kilometers from the edge of the housing district, and the beginning of the construction of the pre-planned residential settlement, with its complex of socio-cultural types of facilities has not been provided for in this five-year plan. Therefore, the Ispolkom of the City Soviet did not agree with the plan which was presented. And it proposed that the USSR Gosagroprom revise the structure of the capital investments for building the plant.

THE OPINION OF V. CHERNOMIRANOV, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF USSR GOSAGROPROM

Why did such a situation take shape? At this stage we cannot allocate as much money for building housing and civil facilities as the Ispolkom requests. We are building a plant, not a city. And the construction of this enterprise is lagging behind catastrophically. The total estimated cost of this plant is approximately 300 million rubles, including almost 100 million rubles for the first phase. Only about 13 million has been allocated. But this plant is extremely necessary! It is supposed to solve the problem, above all, of providing an entire tool and repair center. Of course, we will again study the capital-investments plan which has been returned to us. And, wherever possible, we will revise certain positions. We understand that the new enterprise will need manpower; it will certainly need to concern itself about housing, as well as about cultural-everyday facilities. If our contractor--the USSR Ministry of Construction--steps up its attention to this plant under construction, we will solve the problems which have arisen in connection with building this enterprise within a complex.

THE OPINION OF G. GUPHOMLINOV, USSR DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTRUCTION

We also think that it is necessary first to construct housing and social, cultural, and everyday facilities for the builders and plant-workers. To create, so to speak, the foundation of the future plant. Everything is clear with the plans for this year. We will fulfill the one-year plan. There have been quite a few complications here. I'm not going into details now; it is a question of certain well-known organizational difficulties at the beginning of a large construction project in small towns. With regard to the construction of the production buildings and the plant as a whole, it will not be up to us. We are waiting for proposals from the client for the five-year plan. It is high time that all of us met together--representatives from the Ispolkom, Gosagroprom, and the Ministry of Construction. And not in Moscow but rather at the site itself. We need to sort everything out and eliminate all the problems.

Yes, it is time for all the persons concerned to meet and solve the problems which have come up. All the more so in that the plant has already been under construction for ten years....

Kuznetsk Ispolkom Wins Dispute

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by G. Alimov: "The Ispolkom Stood by Its Guns: IZVESTIYA Follow-Up"]

THE ISPOLKOM SAID "NO," IZVESTIYA, No 27

AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR THE ISPOLKOM OF THE KUZNETSKY (PENZA OBLAST) CITY SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES REJECTED THE PROGRAM PROPOSED BY THE USSR GOSAGROPROM OF CAPITAL INVESTMENTS FOR THE 12th FIVE-YEAR PLAN. SUCH A DECISION WAS CAUSED BY THE FACT THAT CONSTRUCTION OF THE KUZNETSKY PLANT IS BEING CARRIED OUT IN AN UNCOMPREHENSIVE MANNER.

THE ISPOLKOM DIRECTED THE CLIENT'S ATTENTION TO THIS CIRCUMSTANCE ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION. BUT EVEN IN THE PLAN FOR THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN THE GOSAGROPROM PROJECTED AN ALLOCATION FOR HOUSING AND CIVIL FACILITIES OF ONLY 1.9 MILLION RUBLES OUT OF A PRE-PLANNED AMOUNT OF 23 MILLION RUBLES FOR CONSTRUCTION-AND-INSTALLATION OPERATIONS. IZVESTIYA TALKED ABOUT THIS IN MATERIAL UNDER THE HEADLINE "THE ISPOLKOM SAID 'NO'."

This local organ of the Soviet regime took a principled position and achieved its goal. The USSR Gosagroprom and Ministry of Construction revised the program of capital investments for the construction of a plant for repairing Kam-AZ heavy-duty trucks. After its publication representatives of the departments concerned re-examined all the questions connected with the construction of the enterprise and took a trip out to the site.

USSR Deputy Minister of Construction G. A. SUKHOMLINOV stated the following:

"We decided that the ispolkom had correctly posed the question of the comprehensiveness of the construction. The technical specifications for erecting housing have now been prepared. It will be begun already during this year. The amounts of the contract work for the 12th Five-Year Plan have been set within the limits of 10 million rubles for housing and socio-cultural-everyday facilities. Some 20 million rubles must be allocated for industrial construction."

USSR Gosagroprom Deputy Chairman V.I. CHERNOIVANOV also had a few words to say as follows:

"We set up the optimum correlation of capital investments to production and housing and civil construction. We likewise agreed on the putting into operation of safety-maintenance facilities for the industrial zone, as well as on the construction of a CPTU [City Vocational-Technical School] with 720 vacancies. This school must be built on a rush schedule because it is to accept its first pupils in 1989. The planning organizations are now making the necessary adjustments to the plan-estimate specifications. The USSR Ministry of Construction has promised to turn the first stage of the plant over to us during this five-year plan. I have already said the following, but I will repeat it: this plant is extremely necessary. It must solve the problem of the entire industrial base and repairs."

He telephoned Puznetsk, to the chairman of the Ispolkom of the City Soviet, N. V. KURGANOV, and asked him to express his opinion on the decisions which had been adopted.

"They have finally taken a serious attitude toward our remarks and arguments. I would like to believe that words will be followed up by deeds; we have been waiting for this for ten years."

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TURKMEN CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM INFORMATION REPORT

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 25 May 86 p 1

/Text/ The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan was held on 24 May.

The first secretary of the CP Central Committee of Turkmenistan, S.A. Niyazov, gave a report "On the tasks of party organizations of the republic in eliminating serious shortcomings in the utilization of irrigated lands and increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production in light of the demands of the 27th Congress of the CPSU."

The following participated in the discussion of the report: Ashkhabad Obkom First Secretary Yu.K. Mogilyevets; worker at the kolkhoz imeni Gagarin, Kunya-Urgench Rayon, K. Arazkulyyev', Chardzhou Obkom First Secretary R. Khudayberdiyev; bulldozer operator at the Karakumvodstroy trust, Tedzhen Rayon, D. Ilamanov; Tashauz Obkom First Secretary B. Atayev; First Deputy Chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the TuSSR State Agroindustrial Committee G.S. Mishchenko; Mary Obkom First Secretary Ch. Gedzhenov; TuSSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources V.V. Polyakov; released secretary of the kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev party committee, Sakar-Chaginskiy Rayon, N. Shadurdyev; Chairman of the TuSSR People's Control Committee N.V. Makarkin; Glavkarakumstroy Chief A. Charyyev; Krasnovodsk Oblispolkom Chairman T. Babadzhanov; chairman of the board of the Teze yel kolkhoz, Bayram-Aliyskiy, rayon, G. Annaliyev; Khalachskiy Raykom First Secretary N. Akyev.

S.V. Zasukhin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, addressed the plenum.

On the first issue, the plenum passed a resolution and approved measures on the further improvement of irrigated land reclamation and increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production in the Turkmen SSR for 1986-1990.

A.I. Rachkov, second secretary of the CP Central Committee of Turkmenistan, gave a report "On measures for improving the utilization of labor resources of the Turkmen SSR in the 12th 5-Year Plan."

The plenum also examined organizational issues.

In connection with his retirement for health reasons, Yu.L. Kireyev was relieved of his duties of chief of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Trade and Domestic Services Department. I. Shykhyev was confirmed as the chief of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Trade and Domestic Services Department. A.O. Bayramov was relieved of his duties as chief of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Economic Department in connection with his transfer to other work. V.V. Rashidov was confirmed as chief of the Economic Department of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were: Yu.A. Tomak, instructor in the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department; N.N. Tartishchev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; G.M. Gibov, instructor in the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; A.F. Ilyin, CPSU Central Auditing Commission official; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of State Agroindustrial Committee Workers of the USSR V.M. Nikitinykh; V.P. Berdnikov, chief of the Production Distribution Department of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

On the same day a meeting of the Auditing Commission of the Turkmen CP was held.

The fulfillment of the work plan by the Turkmen CP Auditing Commission was examined. A.F. Ilyin, official of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, reported on the necessity of raising the work level of republic auditing commissions.

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CSO: 1830/617

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PATIASHVILI SURVEYS GRAIN PRODUCTS WORK IN GEORGIA

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 17 May 1986 carries on pages 1-2 a 1,100-word GruzINFORM report covering a party-economic aktiv held in the republic's Ministry of Grain Products. Georgian First Secretary D. I. Patiashvili summed up the results of the meeting; other participants included First Deputy Chairman of the Georgian Gosagroprom G. D. Mgeladze and Chairman of the People's Control Committee N. R. Sadzhaya.

Minister of Grain Products L. L. Zakaidze gave the keynote address, calling for a sharp improvement in the quality of production and greater responsiveness to consumers' demands. The republic, Zakaidze observed, produces below the level of demand; this accounts for the primary emphasis placed on grain and bread production in the latest plan. But, the minister stated, increased attention must be devoted to problems with harvest transport and grain processing. In addition, storage facilities must be upgraded; they currently do not meet "elementary requirements." Guilty parties have been punished in cases of inferior-quality production, but "the fact remains that this would not have happened under conditions of the correct organization of labor and the observance of technological discipline." Continuing thefts of socialist property, falsification of records, and red tape are also hampering production in this sector, observed the participants. The roles and responsibilities of leaders and specialists should be enhanced, according to the speakers. "They bear the full responsibility for the portion of work entrusted to them. If their competence, efficiency and economic instincts [khozyayskaya smetka] do not correspond to today's demands, then they must go."

Members of the aktiv examined a number of other problems, including the more effective and economic use of raw materials and resources, and issues of cadre development.

TBILISI GORKOM ELECTS NEW FIRST SECRETARY

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 3 July 1986 carries on page 1 a 100-word GruzINFORM article announcing the results of the Tbilisi Gorkom plenum. G. D. Gabuniya was released from his responsibilities as first secretary and member of the Tbilisi Gorkom in connection with his "transfer to other work." V. I. Alavidze was elected the new first

secretary and became a member of the Tbilisi Gorkom. Alavidze had earlier worked as director of the Organizational Party Work Department in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. Georgian Communist Party First Secretary D. I. Patiashvili took part in the plenum.

GEORGIAN TRADE MINISTER ADDRESSES FUTURE TASKS

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 15 May 1986 carries on page 3 a 75-word GruzINFORM article noting a press conference held by Georgian Minister of Trade A. O. Movsesyan. The minister observed that the principal tasks which lay ahead for his organization were to strengthen the material-technical base for various enterprises, to resolve difficult cadre problems in the service sectors, and to improve legal oversight and general discipline within the local community. Department Director E. E. Kapba of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee took part in the press conference.

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CSO: 1830/607

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TURKMEN BURO ON LAND RECLAMATION, WATER RESOURCES MINISTRY

/Editorial Report/ Ashkhabad TURKEMNSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 9 May 1986 carries on page 1 a 500-word report on a regular session of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, which examined the work of the primary party organization of the TuSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources in increasing the responsibility of communists for fulfilling the long-term program of land reclamation and in improving the technical level and quality of the work in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress.

It was noted that the ministry's party organization is still not using all the forms and methods of party control for implementing the directives of the party and government. There has been no noticeable improvement in mobilizing communists to implement scientific and technical progress. Ministry management is criticized for its shortcomings, which have had a negative effect on the branch. Shortcomings in capital construction as well as in the utilization of water resources are noted.

The Buro directed the party organization of the ministry to restructure its work in accordance with the demands set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress.

NEW TUSSR MINISTER OF PHYSICAL CULTURE, SPORTS

/Editorial Report/ Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 9 May 1986 carries on page 1 a 50-word statement announcing the appointment of Ata Yazmukhamedov as the chairman of the TuSSR State Committee on Physical Culture and Sports.

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CSO: 1830/619

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TURKMEN BURO ON UNEARNED INCOME, OTHER ISSUES

/Editorial Report/ Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 13 June 1986 carries on page 1 a 100-word report on the 12 June session of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro, which set forth concrete measures in connection with the CPSU directive on the fight against unearned income.

Measures are to be taken to increase high-demand goods and to improve medical, trade, and consumer services. Of particular note was the importance of systematically studying the reasons for shortages of certain goods. Much attention was devoted to the issue of rewarding good work. A set of measures was developed in connection with intensifying the fight against unearned income.

The Turkmen CP Central Committee and Council of Ministers passed a resolution which provides measures for eliminating the housing problem in the TuSSR. It was noted that although available housing space in the TuSSR has increased by 34 percent in the last 10 years, the housing problem in the republic remains acute.

Concerned ministries, departments, and organizations are directed to take necessary steps in order to provide each family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000. In order to make this possible, concrete plans will be developed.

The Turkmen CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers passed a resolution forming a republic committee to implement the educational reform, and appointed the committee members.

Other issues were also discussed.

NEW TUSSR MINISTER OF TRADE

/Editorial Report/ Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 13 June 1986 carries on page 1 a 20-word statement announcing the appointment of Agaly Yazlakov as the TuSSR minister of trade.

The same paper carries on page 4 a 20-word statement announcing that Yefim Grigoryevich Rybalov has been relieved of his duties as TuSSR minister of trade in connection with his transfer to other work.

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CSO: 1830/620

'WAR COMMUNISM' NOT INEVITABLE IN SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 6, Jun 86 (signed to press 28 May 86) pp 70-83

[Article by Ye. G. Gimpelson, doctor of historical sciences, under rubric "Historiography and Source Studies": "The Question of 'War Communism'".]

[Text] Editorial note: The following article is published for purposes of discussion.

The interpretation of historical experience, the learning of lessons from it, and the further development, on that basis, of Marxist-Leninist theory is one of the most typical features of the party of scientific communism (Footnote 1) (See "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, pp 92, 93, 121, 122). While carrying out a thorough study of the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and implementing the acceleration concept that was advanced by the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and that was developed by the congress, we refer again and again to the party's historic experience in order to make effective use of it for resolving the vitally important tasks. And this requires us, as was emphasized at the congress, "to organize, in a much more thorough manner than has previously been the case, the study of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (Footnote 2) (PRAVDA, 28 February 1986).

One of the problems that continues to be have a large amount of interest for researchers is the economic policy of the Communist Party that was conducted during the period of foreign military intervention and civil war, or, more precisely, from the summer of 1918 until the spring of 1921, the period which has gone down in history under the name of "war communism."

At the present time, rather abundant historiography exists concerning this problem, and the analysis of it, at earlier stages, has been touched upon in a number of works (Footnote 3) (See, for example, Gimpelson, Ye. G., "Voyennyi kommunizm": politika, praktika, ideologiya" ['War Communism': Policy, Practice, Ideology], Moscow, 1973; Oskolkovda, E. D., "Problemy metodologii i istoriografii leninskoy kontseptsii nepa" [Problems of the Methodology and Historiography of the Leninist Conception of the NEP [New Economic Policy]], Rostov-na-Donu, 1981; Spirin, L. M., Litvin, A. L., "Na zashchite revolyutsii.

V. I. Lenin, RKP(b) v gody grazhdanskoy voyny. Istoriograficheskiy ocherk" [In Defense of the Revolution: V. I. Lenin and the RKP(b) During the Years of the Civil War. Historiographic survey], Leningrad, 1985]. Important landmarks in the research on that problem are the generalizing works, and primarily such fundamental publications as the multivolume "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" and "Istoriya SSSR s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney" (Footnote 4) ("Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the CPSU], Vol 3, book 2, Moscow, 1968; Vol 4, book 1, Moscow, 1970; "Istoriya SSSR s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney:" [History of the USSR From the Most Ancient Times to the Present Day], Vol VII, Moscow, 1967). On a broad scale the history of the formation of "war communism" and its essence are illumined in the textbooks and teaching aids on the history of the CPSU (Footnote 5) (See "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. (Pod red. akad. B. N. Ponomareva" [History of the CPSU. (Edited by Academician B. N. Ponomarev)], 7th edition, Moscow, 1983), and in collective works and monographs devoted to the transitional period (Footnote 6) ("Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii. B 7-mi t." [International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory. In seven volumes], Vol 4, Moscow, 1980; "Ot kapitalizma k sotsializmu. Osnovnyye problemy istorii perekhodnogo perioda v SSSR. 1917-1937 gg. V 2-kh t." [From Capitalism to Socialism. Basic Problems of the History of the Transitional Period in the USSR. 1917-1937. In two volumes], Vol 1, Moscow, 1981; etc.), the history of the civil war, the working class, and our party's economic policy during the first years of the Soviet authority (Footnote 7) (See Oleseyuk, Ye. V., "Razrabotka ekonomicheskoy politiki Kommunisticheskoy partii v trudakh V. I. Lenina (1917-1921 gg.)" [Development of the Economy of the Communist Party in the Works of V. I. Lenin (1917-1921)], Rostov-na-Donu, 1977; Yurkov, I. A., "Ekonomicheskaya politika partii v derevne. 1917-1920." [The Party's Economic Policy in the Village. 1917-1920], Moscow, 1980; Berkhin, I. B., "Voprosy istorii perioda grazhdanskoy voyny (1918-1920) v sochineniyakh V. I. Lenina" [Questions of the History of the Period of Civil War (1918-1920) in the Works of V. I. Lenin], Moscow, 1981; Polyakov, Yu. A., Dmitrenko, V. P., Shcherban, N. V., "Novaya ekonomicheskaya politika. Razrabotka i osushchestvleniye" [New Economic Policy: Development and Implementation], Moscow, 1982; etc.). Individual questions pertaining to this problem have been considered in various articles (Footnote 8) (See Dmitrenko, V. P., "Economic Policy of the Transitional Period in the USSR: Vitally Important Problems of Research," ISTORIYA SSSR, No 6, 1978; Yurkov, I. A., "Financial Policy of the Soviet State and Commodity-Monetary Relations During the Years of the Civil War (1918-1920)," VOPROSY ISTORII, No 10, 1981; Ragimkhanov, M. R., "Policy of 'War Communism' (Historiography of the Question)," UCHENYYE ZAPISKI AZERBAYDZHANSKOGO GOSUDARSTVENNOGO UNIVERSITETA. SERIYA ISTORICH. I FILOSOF. NAUK, No 1, Baku, 1977; etc.). There have been works that point out the "war communism" practice in the national regions of the country (Footnote 9) (See Tereshchenko, Yu. I., "Policy of 'War Communism' in the Ukraine" [in Ukrainian], UKRAYINSKIY ISTORICHNIY ZHURNAL, No 10, 1980, and "Velikiy Oktyabr i stanovleniye sotsialisticheskoy ekonomiki na Ukraine. Ocherk ekonomicheskoy politiki (1917-1920)] (The Great October and the Arising of the Socialist Economy in the Ukraine. Survey of the history of the economic policy (1917-1920)], Kiev, 1986; etc.). In the following article we shall dwell chiefly on an analysis of the questions that continue to be moot in the literature that has appeared in the past decade.

The latest literature attests to the fact that the view concerning "war communism" as a policy that could be summarized simply or basically as four elements -- the nationalization not only of large-scale, but also of small-scale industry; compulsory labor requirement; "glavkizm" [overemphasis on centralized authority of main administrations]; and requisition of food products -- is not shared by modern authors. The simplified treatment that predominated in the literature of the 1930-1960's did not provide a sufficiently clear-cut answer to the question of why the economic policy of the Communist Party during the period of the civil war began to be called "war communism." At the present time the system of "war communism" includes, in addition to the measures that were mentioned, the ban on private trade; the curtailing of commodity-monetary relations; the payment of wages in kind; militarization; and equalization in distribution. Thus, by the term "war communism" one has in mind the peculiarities of the economic policy of Soviet authorities during the years of civil war and intervention, namely: the "storm-tactics" tempoes of socialist reforms in the area of production; the organization of distribution with no consideration of the laws pertaining to commodity management; the curtailment of commodity-monetary relations; and the application, in the interests of achieving victory over the enemy, of extraordinary mobilization methods in the field of the economy, which during those years were also methods of consolidating the socialist gains and expanding them, and methods of socialist construction that were influenced by the war and the devastation.

In the past it was felt that the transition to "war communism" in the summer of 1918 was carried out, as it were, at a single time, practically as a single act; not infrequently one could encounter expressions such as "the party introduced the policy of 'war communism.'" At the present time everyone agrees that the formation of the system of "war communism" is a process that had its beginning (approximately the summer of 1918) and culmination. The "war communism" system formed gradually from various and nonsimultaneous state acts. Everyone admits that there were no party or state documents concerning the transition from the economic policy that had been thoroughly set forth in Lenin's "Next Tasks of the Soviet Authority" to another policy -- the policy of "war communism", and that the transition that began in the summer of 1918 to the measures of "war communism" was determined by the intensified military intervention and civil war, when the entire life in the Soviet republic had to be subordinated to the tasks of defense. As was later mentioned by the 10th RKP(b) Congress, "the form of the proletarian dictatorship took on the nature of a military-proletarian dictatorship" (Footnote 10) ("KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenums of the Central Committee], 9th edition, enlarged and corrected, Vol 2, Moscow, 1983, p 324). That was one of the reasons for the storm-tactics methods for resolving economic tasks. The bourgeoisie was knocked out of all its economic positions, and it was necessary to take harsh measures to break even those forms which it had previously been proposed to reform gradually.

All the authors agree that "war communism" played a tremendous role in the victory over enemies and in consolidating and multiplying the socialist gains.

However, with regard to a number of substantial aspects of this problem, even the latest literature still contains contradictory, and sometimes mutually exclusive, evaluations. In the opinion of certain authors, "war communism: was carried out not only because it was a forced measure, but also as a consequence of definite calculations by Lenin and the Communist Party concerning the possibility of a reduced, direct transition to communism. In the 1920's this point of view existed in the literature. I. B. Berkhin was one of the first to return to this understanding of the question. As long ago as 1960 his pamphlet "Leninskiy plan postroyeniya sotsializma" ["The Lenin plan to build Communism"] appeared. In it he directed attention to certain aspects of the problem of "war communism." The author correctly noted that the Soviet state, starting in the second half of 1918, was forced to carry out extraordinary "war communism" measures. Moreover, the Communist Party did not view them as a change in the plan for socialist construction that had been carried out until the summer of 1918. However, later on, in the author's opinion, to the degree to which one detected the tremendous positive role of the extraordinary measures for the guaranteeing of military victory and the reinforcement of the Soviet authority, there began to form the idea that, by such measures, one could guarantee the accelerated transition to communism. And that idea, he says, began to be shared by the Communist Party as a whole (Footnote 11) (See Berkhin, I. B., "Leninskiy plan postroyeniya sotsializma", Moscow 1960, p 67).

In a new work that came out five years ago (Footnote 12) (See Berkhin, I. B., "Voprosy istorii perioda grazhdanskoy voyny (1918-1920 gg.) v sochineniyakh V. I. Lenina" [Questions of the History of the Civil War Period (1918-1920) in the Works of V. I. Lenin]), I. B. Berkhin repeats these views. He discusses in considerable detail how, under the influence of the needs of the military situation, the Soviet government introduced, one after another, extraordinary "war communism" measures and cites the widely known Leninist retrospective evaluations of the reasons for introducing them. Thus, I. B. Berkhin mentions the following statements made by V. I. Lenin (taking into consideration the volume of this article and the well-known nature of those principles, we shall use only the basic ones): "Our too-hurried, rectilinear, unprepared 'communism' was caused by the war and by the impossibility either of getting commodities or of starting up factories" (Footnote 13) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 43, p 372); "war communism" was forced by the war and the destruction (Footnote 14) (See *ibid.*, p 230); "under the conditions of unprecedented economic difficulties we had to... go far into the area of emergency communist measures, farther than necessary; we were forced to do this" (Footnote 15) (*Ibid.*, Vol 45, pp 9-10); "'war communism' was forced by the war and the destruction. It was not and could not be a policy that corresponds to the economic tasks of the proletariat. It was a temporary measure" (Footnote 16) (*Ibid.*, Vol 43, p 220).

Thus, "war communism" was a temporary policy that was influenced by the war. Later on, in addition to these evaluations, the author cites other Leninist retrospective statements: "We calculated -- or perhaps it will be more correct to say that we proposed without sufficient calculation -- that, by using the direct commands of the proletarian state, we could set up state production and the state distribution of products in the communist manner in a petty-peasant country. Life showed us our mistake" (Footnote 17) (*Ibid.*, Vol 44, p 151).

"...Our preceding economic policy, if one cannot say that it calculated (we in that situation, in general, did little calculating), then to a certain degree presupposed, and, one might say, uncalculatingly presupposed that there would be a direct transition from the old Russian economy to state production and distribution on communist principles" (Footnote 18) (Ibid., p 156). "I cannot say that it was precisely in that definite and graphic manner that we drew this plan for ourselves, but it was approximately in this spirit that we acted" (Footnote 19) (Ibid., p 157).

From these statements made by V. I. Lenin, I. B. Berkhin makes a completely different conclusion, namely: "war communism" was viewed also "as a plan for carrying out the accelerated transition to communist production and distribution" (Footnote 20) (See Berkhin, I. B., "Voprosy istorii perioda grazhdanskoy voyny...", p 319).

The question arises: where, in what party documents, or statements by Lenin in the period of the civil war was it so viewed? The answer can only be an unequivocal one: there were no such documents. The authors of the book "Novaya ekonomicheskaya politika: Razrabotka i osushchestvleniye" are right when they state that the assumptions concerning the possibility of making the transition to socialism within compressed periods of time, by an abbreviated route, with the aid of a direct assault against the positions of capital were not recorded in any party or state documents or any statements made by the leaders of the party and government (Footnote 21) (See Polyakov, Yu. A., Dmitrenko, V. P., Shcherban, N. V., op. cit., p 9).

The statement to the effect that "war communism" was caused not only by the objective difficult conditions in which the country was located, but also by the ideological principles of the Communist Party, by calculations aimed at the accelerated transition to communism, is also shared by other researchers. Moreover, it is both developed and deepened. For example, according to Ye. V. Oleseyuk, lying at the basis of "war communism" was a definite system of party views concerning the problems of building a new society (Footnote 22) (See Oleseyuk, Ye. V., op. cit., pp 106-107).

Ye. A. Ambartsumov, pointing out the existence of the two points of view (one to the effect that "war communism" was determined by the wartime circumstances, and the other to the effect that it was determined by a purposeful, previously thought-out policy or plan for the accelerated transition to communist production and distribution), feels that lying at the basis of both of them is a somewhat simplified understanding of "war communism" (Footnote 23) (See Ambartsumov, Ye. A., "Lenin i put k sotsializmu" [Lenin and the Path to Socialism], Moscow, 1982, pp 168-169). The war played, rather, the role of a catalyst for a tempestuous chain reaction. The purpose of the actions in that era lay, in addition to guaranteeing a military victory, also in carrying out a "program of building a communist society..." (Footnote 24) (Ibid., p 170). However, the crux of the matter was not in the carrying out of that program, but in the forms and methods of building socialism under the wartime conditions, which were proceeding in the direction of the final goals of the party of the working class, inasmuch as they were carried out precisely by the proletarian state. The essence of the problem was expounded by the author in a rather contradictory manner, and in the final

analysis his position is expressed in the name of the sections in his work: "Socioeconomic Relations: The Attempt to Leave Time Behind"; "The Course Aimed at the Elimination of Commodity-Monetary Relations"; "The Course Aimed at Communist Equality and the Problem of Egalitarianism"; and "From the Commonality of Labor to Its Militarization."

In the article "Economics and Policy in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which was written for the second anniversary of the Soviet authority -- at the very height of "war communism" -- Lenin, as he himself remarked, decided to pose the question and provide a canvas for its discussion by Communists. Casting his glance at what had been done after October and characterizing the transitional period that had begun, he pointed out that that period could not fail to combine within itself the features or properties of the old, capitalist way of life and the new, communist way of life in the social economy, and could not fail to be a period of struggle between them, or, in other words "between defeated, but not eliminated, capitalism and the newly born, but still quite weak, communism" (Footnote 25) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 39, p 271). The necessity of that period, Lenin adds, "must be clear, in and of itself," and he immediately castigates the representatives of the 2nd International, who were distinguished by "complete oblivion with regard to this self-evident truth," who waved off "every recognition of the entire historic period of the transition from capitalism to communism" (Footnote 26) (Ibid., p 272).

In the same article Lenin, summing up what had been done during the previous two years in the area of reorganizing the social relations, emphasized that there lay ahead, however, an even more difficult task: the organizational restructuring of the entire social economy, the transition for the individual, isolated, petty commodity economy to the socialized large-scale economy. "This transition," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is, by necessity, extremely prolonged. This transition can only be slowed down or hampered by hasty or incautious administrative and legislative measures" (Footnote 27) (Ibid., p 277).

In December 1919, in a speech at the 1st Congress of Farming Communes and Agricultural Artels, Lenin, warning against hastiness in making the transition to the social economy in the village, explained, "Communism is the highest stage in the development of socialism, when people work with an awareness of the need to work for the common good. We know that at the present time we cannot introduce socialist order -- let us hope to God that, in the life of our children, or perhaps our grandchildren, it will be established in our country" (Footnote 28) (Ibid., p 380). On 2 February 1920, at the first session of the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee], 7th Convocation, Lenin said that the transition from capitalism to socialism was the most difficult task and it would take many years, "but within that period our policy will be subdivided into a number of even small transitions" (Footnote 29) (Ibid., Vol 40, p 104). V. I. Lenin expressed the same idea in April 1920 in the article "From the Destruction of the Centuries-Old Way of Life to the Creation of a New One" (Footnote 30) (See *ibid.*, p 316).

Lenin emphasized that the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists had created only the possibility of building "the most elementary forms of socialism, but there is still nothing communist in this" (Footnote 31) (Ibid.,

p 34). And then he went to say, "if, in the present-day system in Russia, there is something that is communistic, it is only 'subbotniks' [donated labor days], and everything else is only the struggle against capitalism for the consolidation of socialism, from which, after its complete victory, there is supposed to grow that very communism which we, in those 'subbotniks,' observe not from books, but from real life" (Footnote 32) (Ibid., p 36).

Thus, throughout the civil war Lenin proceeded from the assumption that the transition to socialism would require a prolonged period of time and the resolution of transitional tasks. His views concerning these questions did not change. The party had not overestimated the future opportunities. Lenin called for the sober and circumspect evaluation of all the phenomena of life. At the 8th All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b) on 2 December 1919, he said that very frequently, simultaneously with the building of a foundation but without having modified the basic job, people have undertaken to build a cupola, have erected all kinds of decorations, and been distracted by tasks which could not be executed until after the installation of the foundation. Criticizing such a practice, Lenin emphasized how important it is to make from that experience the conclusion that it is necessary to concentrate all the efforts on the simplest tasks, such as the struggle for bread, for fuel, and for the elimination of epidemics (Footnote 33) (See *ibid.*, Vol 39, pp 356, 357). On 3 November 1920, at the All-Russian Conference of Political-Educational Workers in Guberniya and Uyezdi Departments of Public Education, Lenin spoke about how the mass-political and educational work in the country should be organized. He considered its basic direction to be the propagandizing of communism, which propaganda should proceed not from general judgments as to what communism would be like, but from the specific tasks of economic and state construction, in order to harvest the extra poods [one pood = approx. 36 lbs] of grain, in order to make sure that no one goes hungry, etc. (Footnote 34) (See *ibid.*, Vol 41, p 407).

V. I. Lenin's statements in 1919-1920 do not leave any doubt of the fact that even then he was devoid of any illusions relative to the economic measures being carried out. He was completely aware of the fact that those measures were intended to resolve the specific tasks of wartime.

But now it is necessary to return to Lenin's retrospective statements about the economic policy of 1918-1920. For the most part they pertain to the autumn of 1921, and for their correct understanding it is necessary to take into consideration the situation of that time, when the party had undertaken an additional retreat within the framework of the NEP (the promotion of trade as the basic form of economic link between industry and agriculture). The broad party masses were not yet aware of the need for that step. V. I. Lenin heightened the question of the proposals that had previously been made to use the "storm-tactics" method to make the transition to the socialist principles of production and distribution, in order to make clearer the new task and the need to reject the old methods (Footnote 35) (This circumstance is considered thoroughly in the book: Genkina, E. B., "Gosudarstvennaya deyatelnost V. I. Lenina. 1921-19123 gg." [State Activity of V. I. Lenin: 1921-1923], Moscow, 1969. It is typical that the authors, assuming that calculations had been made, and that there had even been a "plan for the immediate, accelerated transition to communism," refer only to one part of Lenin's retrospective

statements. The other part, which mentions only the forced nature of the "war communism" measures," is ignored or is mentioned in complete isolation from the other statements, without any attempts to combine them. The contradictory nature of the researchers' judgments cannot be overcome if one does not take the entire totality of Lenin's statements, including those pertaining to the period of 1918-1920, the period of the civil war. In this instance one can come to the conclusion that, while developing the idea of "war communism," Lenin in his retrospective statements of 1921-1922 takes two sides of the problem: "war communism" was necessitated by the war; there had been no plans or programs for the transition to communism by this path, but objectively the matter had proceeded in that direction, in the direction of the immediate transition of "the old Russian economy to state production and distribution on communist principles," "we acted approximately in that spirit" (and Lenin emphasized that they had acted because they were forced to do so, in accordance with the wartime conditions" (Footnote 36) (See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 44, pp 151, 157, 204, etc.). It is, of course, true that in rather broad circles of party and Soviet workers during the years of the civil war there was a widespread conviction that the extraordinary "war communism" measures and tendencies (the use of in-kind methods in economic relations; the equalized distribution by ration cards; the curtailment of commodity-monetary relations) were a direct, accelerated path toward communism. However, Lenin even then repeatedly and decisively criticized such views, pointing out their groundlessness.

After the end of the civil war, at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party, V. I. Lenin subjected to criticism the idea expressed by V. P. Milyutin to the effect that Soviet legislation during the years of the civil war had been a harmonious system of transition to communism, a system which, however, had failed to take into consideration the necessity of a number of concessions to the petty bourgeoisie. The economic system that had developed, Lenin remarked, was dictated by the needs, considerations, and conditions of the war, and there had been no other way out (Footnote 37) (See *ibid.*, Vol 43, p 79).

Having in mind those measures that could be called "running ahead" in the course of carrying out the economic policy, V. I. Lenin noted that the transition to them was of too hasty, too rectilinear a nature, and had been done "both because of military considerations' and because of almost absolute poverty; both by error, and by a number of errors..." (Footnote 38) (*Ibid.*, Vol 43, p 372; Vol 44, p 473). In Lenin's evaluation, a number of exaggerations had been made (Footnote 39) (See *ibid.*, Vol 43, p 79). It appeared that the economic link between the city and the countryside could be guaranteed by means of socialist barter, without any trade. The "running ahead" had also been caused by the need to deprive the class enemy of the material means for combatting the dictatorship of the proletariat. There had been errors influenced by the fact that they had not known how to observe moderation (Footnote 40) (See *ibid.*, p 63). But in this one could see the effect, Lenin pointed out, of a forced necessity: the country was living under the conditions of an unprecedentedly severe war, and it had been necessary to operate in a military manner in the economic area also. "...We went farther than was theoretically or politically necessary" (Footnote 41) (*Ibid.*, p 64).

In October 1921 V. I. Lenin said that the practice of "war communism" went beyond the confines of what had been stipulated prior to the summer of 1918, when Communists spoke about the tasks of economic construction much more cautiously and circumspectly than people had done from the second half of 1918 until the end of 1920 (Footnote 42) (See *ibid.*, Vol 44, p 156).

By the "war communism" measures the Soviet state reinforced and expanded the socialist gains, carried out a frontal attack on the positions of capitalism, and, as it were, forced the transition to socialism and communism, although there had been no material, cultural, or organizational prerequisites for that transition. "...On the run, on the crest of the enthusiasm of the workers and the peasants, we seized much too much..." (Footnote 43) (*Ibid.*, Vol 45, p 88), Lenin remarked. Of course, the practice of "war communism" was linked with certain unjustified assumptions, for example, with the idea of barter ("...I proposed barter... a certain kind of direct transition without trade, a step to socialist barter" (Footnote 44) (*Ibid.*, Vol 44, p 471). The hopes and calculations for preserving the positions that had already been won on the path of the creation of socialist principles in production and distribution were natural. The existence of those hopes could not fail to hinder the working out of a plan for retreating, for turning toward the NEP. It was not until after the civil war, Lenin pointed out, that it became clear that all the positions obtained from 1917 through 1921 could not be held (Footnote 45) (See *ibid.*, Vol 45, p 88).

In the works of certain authors it is stated that, by the end of the civil war, the party began to view the military methods of management as a special plan, method, or system of communist construction for peacetime also. In attempting to prove that, Ye. V. Oleseyuk, in the party's plans that had been calculated for the long-term period, for the entire transitional period, see "war communism" principles (Footnote 46) (See Oleseyuk, Ye. V., *op. cit.*, p 114). I. B. Berkhin writes about the link that "war communism" had "with the fundamental principles of the Communist Party in the economic area, including with the economic section of the 1919 RKP(b) Program" (Footnote 47) (Berkhin, I. B., "Voprosy istorii perioda grazhdanskoy voyny...", p 329). But if one follows such reasonings, it must be admitted that the "war communism" principles were programmed for the entire transitional period from capitalism to socialism. In the literature, this line of thought has already received critical evaluation. For example, in connection with this question E. D. Oskolkova emphasizes: there is not a single party document that would give foundation for asserting that V. I. Lenin counted on the possibility of using the system of military relations under peacetime conditions (Footnote 48) (See Oskolkova, E. D., *op. cit.*, p 23). I. A. Yurkov mentioned the erroneousess of the opinion that there were plans to implement "war communism" after the end of the civil war (Footnote 49) (See *VOPROSY ISTORII*, No 10, 1981, p 76). K. I. Zarodov wrote about this with the same categorical tone in his article "The Historical Experience of October and the Guarantees of the Revolutionary Gains": Lenin had never elevated "war communism" to the level of a method or principle of transition to socialism (Footnote 50) (See *VOPROSY ISTORII*, No 11, 1981, p 15).

The "war communism" measures, forms, and methods of resolving economic tasks were determined not by program principles of the Communist Party, but by the

placement and correlation of the class forces, by the degree and forms of resistance put up by the overthrown classes. That is also attested to by the following observation by E. D. Oskolkova: as early as the eve of October, in his work "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Combat It," V. I. Lenin pointed out the inevitability of applying extraordinary measures in organizing the distribution in a starving country -- the forced unification of the entire population into consumer societies, the introduction of the strictest ration-card system, and of compulsory labor for rich persons and for those who did not want to share with the workers the heavy burdens of the war (Footnote 51) (See Oskolkova, E. D., op. cit., pp 44-45). Those measures, which the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries who were then in power decided not to take, subsequently became part of the system of "war communism." The dictatorship of the proletariat implemented them in the most decisive manner, since they were persistently dictated by the extraordinary situation of wartime and destruction, and conformed to the interests of the revolution under the specific conditions of that specific segment of time.

The available literature concerning "war communism" in the national regions, and the specific materials cited in it which pertain to the economic policy of the Soviet authority in the regions that were liberated from the White Guard occupying forces at the end of the civil war, confirm that the "war communism" measures there also were applied only by force of necessity. In this regard the trans-Caucasian republics are typical. Here one can trace in a completely obvious way how the Soviet authority, on Lenin's recommendation, began its economic activity not with the "war communism" measures; its orientation was on the gradual achievement of reforms, as it had been in the RSFSR during the first period after October. And it was only the increasingly complicated economic situation that forced the introduction of individual extraordinary measures. And the situation was the same in Turkestan.

In the literature it is customary to call the views of some of the party and Soviet workers who felt that the transition to the highest phase of communism was already being carried out (Footnote 52) (At that time these views were propagandized especially zealously in the press by N. Bukharin, Yu. Larin, L. Kritsman, and N. Osinskiy) "the ideology of war communism." That name was used for the first time in the basic principles of the expanded Plenum of the IKKI [Executive Committee of the Communist International] (February-March 1922), with the remark that that ideology "was in sharp contradiction to the party's true theory and program" (Footnote 53) ("Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional v dokumentakh. 1919-1932" [The Communist International in Documents: 1919-1932], Moscow, 1933, p 272).

Most historians feel that the Communist Party and V. I. Lenin did not share the "war communism" ideology and did not retreat from the instructions of Marx and Engels concerning the transitional period. "...The party's ideological line did not change and could not change" (Footnote 54) (Gorbunov, V. V., "V. I. Lenin i Proletkult" [V. I. Lenin and Proletkult [Proletarian Culture]], Moscow, 1974, pp 133, 134), V. V. Gorbunov states. M. P. Iroshnikov writes that the views concerning the immediate construction of communism by "war communism methods" sprang up and became widespread on the basis of the existing "leftist Communist" moods (Footnote 55) (See: Iroshnikov. M. P., "Predsedatel Sovnarkoma i Soveta Oborony V. Ulyanov

(Lenin)" [Chairman of Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars] and Defense Council V. Ulyanov (Lenin)], Leningrad, 1980, p 222). In the collective monograph "Ot kapitalizma k sotsializmu" it is stated in this regard that V. I. Lenin revealed the positions of the "so-called ideologists of 'war communism' who viewed that policy as one that was scientifically substantiated and that reflected the basic natural laws underlying the transition to socialism" (Footnote 56) ("Ot kapitalizma k sotsializmu. Osnovnyye problemy istorii perekhodnogo perioda v SSSR. 1917-1937 gg." [From Capitalism to Socialism: Basic Problems in the History of the Transitional Period in the USSR. 1917-1937], Vol 1, p 205).

Ye. V. Oleseyuk does not agree with that. In his opinion, this was the ideology of the entire party and of Lenin, and both the party and Lenin felt that "war communism" had "ideological support" (Footnote 57) (See Oleseyuk, Ye. V., op. cit., p 108).

Ye. V. Olesyuk completely equates "war communism" and the economic policy of the party and the Soviet state from the second half of 1918 to 1920. In both phenomena of economic life, including the "subbotniks," and in the development of socialist competition, he sees "war communism," and in Lenin's work "A Great Undertaking," "the interesting development of the ideas of war communism" (Footnote 58) (Ibid., p 142).

The question was expounded differently in P. A. Golub's book: the system of "war communism" did not encompass the entire total of economic measures of the Soviet authority in 1918-1920; it was employed only in those places and to that degree that were dictated by the interests of defending the revolution (Footnote 59) (See Golub, P. A., "Revolutsiya zashchishchayetsya" [The Revolution Defends Itself], Moscow, 1982, p 142). Actually, the economic policy of the Soviet state of those years was broader than the concept of "war communism." It includes not only the "war communism" aspect of management, but also such aspects as the administration of the peasant economy and the remaining private economy; measures to develop the productive forces; the providing of material incentives for raising the labor productivity; the development of construction programs; and the improvement of the control of the national economy. Those are the same questions that were posed and resolved by the party during the first months of the Soviet authority. And during the period of so-called "war communism," Lenin and the party continued to develop them theoretically and to carry them out practically (problems of planning; the development of the plan for the electrification of the country; the combination of conviction and the receiving of incentives; the development of socialist competition; the question of concessions; etc.). "War communism" is the distinguishing feature of the economic policy of 1918-1920. V. I. Lenin introduced the term "war communism" after the completion of the civil war and always put it in quotation marks (which, incidentally, certain historians fail to do). This term is, to a considerable degree, conventional. It sums up a number of the features inherent in the economic policy of that time, which, in form, recall communist principles (the socialization of all the resources; elements of equalization in distribution; the use of in-kind methods in economic relations).

And now let us change over from the content and essence of "war communism" to the manner in which the literature throws light on individual specific aspects of it, in particular, those regarding which there are differences of opinion. These questions are not new. A discussion concerning them was carried out in 1966-1968 on the pages of VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, but that discussion is also continuing in the latest literature.

Basically the differences of opinion are linked with the understanding of the essence of the problem as a whole. One of these questions is: what caused the process of the curtailment of trade and commodity-monetary relations in 1918-1920 -- objective reasons or calculations aimed at the immediate transition to communism? For example, N. V. Khessin states that Lenin, from the very first days of the Soviet authority, posed the practical task of replacing commodity production by production that was organized in a planned manner and that was directly social. However, that task could not be resolved immediately by virtue of the insufficient level of socialization of production and the fact that different ways of life were evident in the economy of the transitional period. The attempts to make the transition immediately to communist forms of production and distribution under the conditions of "war communism" (Footnote 60) (See Khessin, N. V., "Development of the Theory of the Planned Organization of Socialist Production and the Problems of Improving It," VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, SERIYA 6. EKONOMIKA, No 1, 1979, p 17) were not crowned by success.

E. D. Oskolkova confirms and reinforces the rightness of those researchers who ascribe the appearance in the Bolshevik party of the idea of the curtailment of private trade to the pre-October period. That idea reflected the idea of that time concerning socialism as a society in which there would be no commodity-monetary relations. People did have in mind, however, the long-term situation and the gradual nature of curtailing those relations, and during the first months after October, measures were carried out to reinforce the monetary system. But under the conditions of the civil war it was necessary to paralyze the economically private capital, and the curtailment of private trade at that time was influenced not by ideological considerations, but by the practical political situation (Footnote 61) (See Oskolkova, E. D., op. cit., p 28).

In a number of works it is stated that a "course aimed at the abolition of money" was taken, a course that was determined by the line aimed at the transition to communist distribution (Footnote 62) (See Berkhin, I. B., "Voprosy istorii perioda grazhdanskoy voyny...", p 320). That point of view is usually linked with the party Program that was adopted by the 8th Congress in March 1919, which recommended a number of measures to expand nonmonetary settlements. I. A. Yurkov, analyzing this question, pointed out, however, that these "measures reflected only the stage of preparation for the natural transition from monetary settlements among Soviet institutions and enterprises to nonmonetary ones, that is, by means of banking and checking operations, and they did not have any direct relationship to the elimination of commodity-monetary relations" (Footnote 63) (VOPROSY ISTORII, No 10, 1981, p 66). Moreover, the author quoted paragraph 15 of the Program, where it was stated, "During the first period of the transition from capitalism to communism,

before communist production and distribution of products has been completely organized, the elimination of money would seem to be impossible" (Footnote 64) (KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh...", 8th ed., Vol 2, p 89).

It is an indisputable fact that there had been plans for the abolition of money, which had been born deep within the VSNKh [All-Russian Council of the National Economy] and the People's Commissariat of Finance. But how did V. I. Lenin view that question? We shall cite only one completely definite statement made by him (May 1919): "Even before the socialist revolution, the socialists wrote that money could not be abolished, and we can confirm that by our own experience" (Footnote 65) (Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 38, p 353).

We might also cite the GOELRO [State Commission for the Electrification of Russia] plan which was drawn up in 1920. Lying at its basis was both a MATERIAL balance sheet for electrification, and a FINANCIAL one (in gold rubles). Provision was made for a deficit in the gold balance of approximately 6 billion rubles. It was planned to cover it "by means of concessions and credit operations" (Footnote 66) (Ibid., Vol 42, p 341). How does one coordinate this with the "course" aimed at the immediate abolition of money? It would seem that the authors of the collective monograph "Dengi, kredit i finansy v sotsialisticheskoy obshchestve" are right when they state, "Even during the years of "war communism," V. I. Lenin spoke out decisively against the 'leftist' proposals... to eliminate such a bourgeois survival as money, and to put the state budget completely on an in-kind basis" (Footnote 67) ("Dengi, kredit i finansy v sotsialisticheskoy obshchestve" [Money, Credit, and Finance in the Socialist Society], Moscow, 1975, p 23).

Something else that is linked with the curtailment of commodity-monetary relations is the understanding of the reasons for the partial introduction of free services. As early as 1919 and the first half of 1920, a number of decrees were promulgated, abolishing the payment for municipal and transportation services: for streetcar fares, telephone, water supply, etc. Even before then, proof had been given in literature to the effect that the guiding principle had been purely economic: the amounts of money derived from the providing of the services mentioned proved to be less than the expenditures to maintain the corresponding record-keeping apparatus (Footnote 68) (See Gimpelson, Ye. G., op. cit., pp 119-125).

The situation is more complicated with the understanding of the reasons for the adoption of state decrees concerning the providing to the workers, gratis, food supplies, fuel, and municipal services in December 1920 and January 1921, that is, on the eve of the transition to the NEP. I B. Berkhin links this with the "plan" for the direct transition to the organization of production and distribution on communist principles (Footnote 69) (See Berkhin, I. B., "Voprosy istorii perioda grazhdanskoy voyny...", pp 319-320). But is this so?

The history of these decrees, unfortunately, has not yet been studied or has had light thrown upon it in the literature. However, that which we know about it enables us to state that the legislator was guided not by considerations of the accelerated transition to communism, but by practical desirability, as it appeared to pertain at that time. There is still extant

at TsGANKh SSSR [Central State Archives of the USSR National Economy] a report memorandum issued by Deputy People's Commissar of Food Supplies, N. P. Bryukhanov, to the Council of People's Commissars, dated 15 December 1920 (Footnote 70) (TsGANKh SSSR, f. [collection] 1943, op. [inventory] 1, d. [file] 584, l. [sheets] 54-55. The document was located by Yu. I. Tereshchenko). In that memorandum it is stated that the SNK [Council of People's Commissars] decree that had been published on 7 December stipulated only the free issuance of food supplies, but that computations indicated (they were cited) that the free issuance also of consumer goods would have little effect upon the monetary proceeds paid into the state budget, and in addition would make it possible to reduce the apparatus maintaining the records on the monetary accounts. Hence the proposal: abolish the extraction of money from the workers, employees, and Red Army men in payment of consumer goods. The SNK adopted that decree on 17 December 1920 (Footnote 71) (SU RSFSR [Collection of Laws of the RSFSR], No 93, 1920, Article 505; No 99, Article 531).

In Volume I of "Istoriya sotsialisticheskoy ekonomiki SSSR" the attempt to make the transition to the free releasing of food supplies and consumer goods is viewed as the result of the impossibility, as a consequence of the shortage of commodities, of supplying the public in the forms of commodity-monetary relations (Footnote 72) (See "Istoriya sotsialisticheskoy ekonomiki SSSR. V 7-mi t.", Vol I, Moscow, 1976, pp 391-392). I. A. Yurkov comes to the conclusion: "...Not only the legislative policy was a 'safe-conduct pass' against leftist attacks on money and commodity-monetary relations. The economic activity itself of a tremendous country with an economy containing representatives of many ways of life did not permit any relations between the city and the countryside other than commodity-monetary ones" (Footnote 73) (VOPROSY ISTORII, No 10, 1981, p 72).

As was already mentioned, the process of equalization that was forming in distribution is one of the features of "war communism." If one assumes that the Communist Party had calculations of making an "immediate transition to communism," then it must be admitted that the equalization process corresponded to those calculations and even evolved from them. That understanding of the question can be traced in certain works.

However, Lenin sharply criticized Trotskiy for his appeals for equalization. In 1920 Trotskiy, in one of his pamphlets, wrote, "In the area of consumption, that is, the conditions for the workers' personal existence, it is necessary to introduce the line of equalization." As he was reading the pamphlet, Lenin made a notation in the margin: "Untrue. EM(PHESIS) both in cons(umption) and in pr(oduction)..." (Footnote 74) (LENINSKIY SBORNIK VI [Leninist Collection No. 6], p 347).

In literature there have been repeated mentions of the insufficient working out of the question concerning the place of "war communism" in the system of the party's economic policy. Moreover, in 1972, the idea was expressed to the effect that one cannot place a boundary post between the economic policy conducted prior to the summer of 1918 and the policy of the subsequent period of the civil war, inasmuch as "despite all the difference between the economic policy of the spring of 1918, which contained the foundations of the NEP, and

the policy of war communism, they had a number of features in common. What was in common for them was the fact that they represented stages of the single economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was carrying out the tasks of the revolutionary transformation of the old society and the building of socialism" (Footnote 75) ("Istoricheskiy opyt KPSS v osushchestvleniya novoy ekonomicheskoy politiki" [Historical Experience of the CPSU in Carrying Out the New Economic Policy], Moscow, 1972, p 35).

V. P. Dmitrenko and E. D. Oskolkova posed the question to the effect that "war communism" and the NEP also should not be viewed only from the point of view of their opposition, the ascertaining of their differences, as is generally accepted in literature. It is necessary to show what is common in them, and what the lines of succession are. The authors mentioned see here various stages and methods, which are explained, however, by the commonality of the tasks of the transitional period (Footnote 76) (See ISTORIYA SSSR, No 6, 1978; Oskolkova, E. D., op. cit., p 161). Actually, V. I. Lenin, posing the question of the transition to the NEP, from the "assault" to "siege," had in mind the renunciation only of the extraordinary "war communism" measures. In the report on the New Economic Policy at the 7th Moscow Guberniya Party Conference on 29 October 1921, he, not accidentally, twice repeated: it is inevitable to retreat to positions of state capitalism "IN A NUMBER" (emphasis added - Ye. G.) of economic questions (Footnote 77) (See Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 44, pp 204, 205).

Despite all the differences in the evaluation of "war communism," all the authors are unanimous in feeling that "war communism" is not a mandatory stage on the path of the transition of the capitalistic countries to socialism. If there had been no military intervention or the terrible economic ruin that it caused, there would have been no "war communism" in the Soviet republic. That conclusion, which was formulated as long ago as the July Plenum of the VKP(b) Central Committee in 1928 (Footnote 78) (For more detail, see: Gimpelson, Ye. G., op. cit., pp 256-257), is generally accepted. It is also absolutely fundamental for evaluating the international importance of "war communism." The 6th Congress of the Communist International, in the Comintern Program that was adopted in 1928, emphasized that this policy is not mandatory for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but at the same time it noted that logic of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the necessity of defending the gains of the socialist revolution can require the resorting to methods of a "war communism" nature (Footnote 79) (See "Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional v dokumentakh. 1919-1932", p 25). This is confirmed by the experience of modern revolutions. The East European countries of the people's democracy, building socialism under more favorable conditions, did not resort to "war communism."

In the 1960's Cuba carried out an economic policy that included the abolition of commodity-monetary relations and of the principle of payment based on labor, and also included the free distribution of commodities and services. A self-critical analysis of that practice was given by F. Castro in the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba to its 1st (1975) Congress. "It seemed to us," he said, "that we were approaching the communist forms of production and distribution, but in actuality we were getting farther away from the correct methods of building socialism" (Footnote 80) ("I syezd

Kommunisticheskoy partii Kuby. Gavana, 17-22 dekabrya 1975 g." [1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. Havana, 17-22 December 1975], Moscow, 1976, p 109). That had occurred because "the Cuban revolution had not been able at the very beginning to use the rich experience of building socialism that had been accumulated by other nations that had taken that path long before we did" (Footnote 81) (Ibid., p 105).

Methods of the "war communism" type were also used in Vietnam, and were caused by the wartime situation. The 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, in November 1979, adopted a decision concerning the transition from those methods to the policy of encouraging commodity-monetary relations, the preservation of small-scale private enterprise, the restoration of the private market, etc. (Footnote 82) (See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1980, p 9).

The economic policy that had been carried out during the years of the civil war enabled the Soviet authority, despite the narrowing of the material base, to create a war economy that furnished the needs of the front and the home front, to carry out centralized guidance of the economy, and to use the limited material resources in a planned way. The experience of "war communism" is the experience of the struggle for the defense of socialist gains, the struggle against encroachments by internal and external enemies. The Soviet experience reveals the objective necessity for the application by the dictatorship of the proletariat, under definite conditions, of extraordinary military measures that force the development of socialist reforms even when the necessary material-technical base that is necessary for that is absent. At the same time, the practice of "war communism," in the light of Lenin's evaluations, as it were, warns the communist parties against leaping over the inevitable stages in socialist construction.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist Party has rendered in concrete form the economic policy with a consideration of the conditions and the peculiarities of every stage in the life of the country. And today, at the stage of the qualitative transformation of Soviet society, the party is developing plans for further development with a sober consideration of what has been achieved. "The growth of socialism into communism," the party program states, "is determined by the objective laws governing the development of society, which must be taken into consideration. Any attempts to run ahead, to introduce communist principles without considering the level of the material and spiritual maturity of society, as has been demonstrated by experience, are doomed to failure, and can cause delays both of an economic and a political nature" (Footnote 83) ("Programma Kommunisticheskaya partii Sovetskogo Soyuz. Novaya redaktsiya. Prinyata XXVII syezdom KPSS" [CPSU Program. New edition. Adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 24).

The problem of "war communism" is a component of the policy and practice of the Communist Party at the initial stage of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism in the USSR. It is not only the historians in our country who deal with it. It has also been the subject of works written from Leninist positions by historians in the socialist countries (Footnote 84)

(See, for example: Borgen, "Die Periode des Kriegskommunismus in Sowjetrussland und ihre oekonomische Probleme," JAHRBUCH FUER GESCHICHTE DER SOZIALISTISCHEN LAENDER EUROPAS, Berlin). 1979, bd. 23/I

The correct illumination of the essence of "war communism" is politically essential, especially if one considers, as K. I. Zarodov wrote, that in certain discussions that are currently under way in the workers movement in a number of Western countries, "war communism" has again begun to be treated as one of the methods of building socialism that was allegedly proposed by Lenin. "One can scarcely believe that the people writing about this do not know the real truth about the reasons for the introduction of 'war communism.'" Obviously, they know, but, consciously or unconsciously, they are distorting its essence" (Footnote 85) (VOPROSY ISTORII, No 11, 1981, pp 14-15). And the so-called "Sovietologists" in the West miss no opportunity to treat the economic policy of the Communist Party during the years of the civil war from the point of view of the falsification of the Leninist conception of the transitional period. For many bourgeois authors who are attempting to discredit Marxism-Leninism, "war communism" was an attempt that was doomed to failure, an attempt by the Soviet authority to use forcible methods to carry out its "communist ideals" immediately. It was a "Soviet experiment in communist economics." By equating "war communism" with scientific communism, on the one hand, and with Trotskiyism, on the other hand, they are endeavoring to create a distorted idea concerning Marxist-Leninist teaching, and concerning socialism and communism. As for the NEP, they treat it as the consequence of the failure of the attempts to introduce communism by military methods. This necessitates even more persistently the thorough study of the problem and the ascertaining and overcoming of the differences of opinion that exist in Soviet historiography.

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HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

VOPROSY FILOSOFII REVISES PUBLICATION POLICY

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHII in Russian 25 May 86 p 3

[Text] Problems concerning the change in style and content of the journal VOPROSY FILOSOFII of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy, in response to the requirements of the CPSU 27th Party Congress, were at the center of attention of the reader's conference of that publication. It took place at the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law. Leading scholars-philosophers, research fellows from republic VUZ's philosophy departments and young scholars participated in it.

The chairman of the Azerbaijan branch of the USSR Philosophical Society, doctor of philosophical sciences, academician of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, F. K. Kocharli, opened the conference with some introductory words.

Speaking at the conference, the editor-in-chief of the journal, doctor of philosophical sciences, Professor V. S. Semenov, reported that the themes of the publication will henceforth be determined by a closer link between scientific knowledge and the practical problems of socialist construction and the problems of accelerating scientific-technical progress. The attention of the journal's authors should be directed toward illuminating current problems of dialectical and historical materialism in respect to the new requirements and toward the problems of integrating modern scientific knowledge.

Comrade Semenov answered numerous questions from the members of the conference and listened to their desires and suggestions.

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CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE FOR ALL NATIONALITIES STRESSED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 5, 1986 (signed to press 23 Apr 86) pp 44-51

[Article by Yu. Karaulov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and N. Mikhaylovskaya, Doctor of Philological Sciences: "The Language of a Great Brotherhood"]

[Text] The history of every language is inseparably tied to the history of the society in which it lives and functions.

The Russian language, from ancient times to its present state, has followed a long path of development marked by increasing complexity of its grammatical system, enrichment of its lexical composition, and perfection of its stylistic means and possibilities. But its division into chronological periods is built not only upon changes of a systemic character. Social changes are also reflected in it, for those quantitatively and qualitatively new phenomena which appear in the structure of a language are to one degree or another related to political, economic and cultural factors. Language has never been indifferent to social changes. The deeper these changes, the more intensely they are reflected in changes to the language system and structure and, no less important, in developing the functions of a national language, in perfecting the ways, methods and means by which it serves social communities, and in the all-round assimilation by the language of new forms of activity and new types of relations among people.

The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end forever to national oppression and the inequality of nations in our country. In the course of building a new society, rapid economic, social and cultural progress of the former national outlying districts was assured. In socialist society, as noted in the new edition of the CPSU Program, national inequality is eliminated and the juridical and factual equality, friendship and brotherhood of all nations and peoples are affirmed. The free development of the languages of the peoples of the USSR also became one of the achievements of socialism.

The modern stage of development of the Russian language is characterized by the fact that it has become a means of international intercourse among the peoples of the Soviet Union: possession of it ensures the mutual understanding of Soviet

citizens of the most diverse nationalities, facilitates their increasingly fruitful spiritual enrichment, and opens to the peoples of the Soviet Union the broadest of possibilities for access to the entire wealth that has been created by each of the peoples of our country, and to the achievements of world culture.

Why did specifically the Russian language become the means of intercourse among the peoples of the Soviet Union? This is explained by a number of reasons of a social, historical, and a fundamentally linguistic nature. The Russian language is the native language of a majority of our country's population. Even during the prerevolutionary period, it was fairly widespread among the non-Russian peoples. The working people seized upon it as the language of leading social and political thought, the bearer of liberating ideas in the struggle against arbitrary rule, force and social injustice. The linguistic characteristics, supporting development of the Russian language's function as a means of international intercourse, are determined by the absence of sharp differences between its dialects (regional variations), by closeness of popular conversational and literary forms, and by the relative closeness of the spoken and written word. The Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian languages, having a common origin, have to our day retained many similar characteristics in grammar and vocabulary.

In the concept of "the Russian language as a means of international intercourse" a leading place is occupied by its communicative feature, which, however, is not limited to such vocal activity as the exchange of information. Communication supposes not only the establishment of bilateral "verbal communication" between conversation partners, between correspondent and addressee, not simply the transmission of a particular kind of information, but also a qualitatively different level of its utilization, when the information given and the information received become one of the impulses for other theoretical and practical pursuits in one field of activity or another. That is, such use of language presupposes its cognitive and transforming function. By the same measure, the Russian language, as a means of international intercourse, is not limited to the role of a medium for contact between the peoples of the Soviet Union; it is simultaneously a factor which stimulates the creative process, in the area of production, in the area of social relations, as well as in the area of culture.

What features distinguish the Russian language as a means of international intercourse from the Russian language as a world (or as an inter-nation) language, and also from the Russian language as the language of the Russian nation?

When we speak of the Russian language as a world language, we mainly have in mind its utilization outside the country. The Russian language is one of the official and working languages of the United Nations. Within the UN, international meetings and conferences are held, records are kept, and correspondence is conducted in it, along with several other languages. Mastery of the Russian language as a world language is acquired not from generation to generation, not in the family, and not from a fixed linguistic environment, but by conscious, organized study as a foreign language.

When we speak of the Russian language as the language of the Russian nation, then we understand this to mean all forms of its existence, as the aggregate linguistic system and structure which has been accumulated and developed over the centuries within the limits of a specific national collective -- the Russian people. This system encompasses both literary forms and types of speech which are both subject to operative norms (for example, oratorical speech) and are not (for example, jargon), as well as all the many Russian dialects (regional variations). It should also be emphasized that, in the concept of the Russian language as a national language, the function of intercourse (that is, the communication function) goes without saying; it is not a subject of study in school. A person initially acquires his native language spontaneously, within the family, and then improves his knowledge, it can be said, throughout his whole life.

In light of these characteristics of the Russian language as a world language on one hand and as a national language on the other, the forms and peculiarities characteristic of "the Russian language as a means of international intercourse" become more distinct. The first of these relates to the extent of its use: it is used throughout the entire country, the entire Soviet Union. The second peculiarity relates to its linguistic characteristics: mastery and use of the Russian language in the capacity of an international language is accomplished primarily in its literary variety, subordinate to the demands of contemporary norms. The third feature is connected with the practice of teaching the Russian language in national schools, where it is studied in parallel with study of the native language of the pupils. At the same time, conditions are created for the maximum development and spread of bilingualism, with which a person has the possibility of equally studying and using two languages -- the language of his nation and the Russian, international language.

Does this mean that the Russian language has some kind of special privileges compared to the national languages of the peoples populating the Soviet Union? Of course not. In our country all languages are equal, which is one of the most important achievements of socialist society. The equal rights of the citizens of the Soviet Union, irrespective of their race and nationality, is codified in the USSR Constitution. Article 36 of the Basic Law of the Soviet state fixes the juridical, material and socio-political guarantees of the equality of citizens, including the possibility to use their native language and the languages of other peoples of the USSR. This possibility is ensured in the areas of education (Article 45), legal proceedings (Article 159), notarial matters (Article 9 of the Law on State Notarial Services) and generally in all spheres of citizens' lives. The new edition of the CPSU Program notes: "The free development and equal use of native languages by all citizens of the USSR will also be ensured in the future. At the same time, mastery, along with the language of their own nationality, of the Russian language, voluntarily accepted by Soviet people as a means of international intercourse, increases access to the achievements of science and technology, as well as Soviet and world culture".

Proclaiming the political and juridical equality of the languages of all the peoples of the USSR, our party and state are following principles developed in the works of V. I. Lenin concerning the national question. As early as the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Lenin, as a political activist and scientist, became interested in the question of the linguistic situation in multinational states -- Russia, Austria-Hungary, and others. In Russia, in the terminology of the reactionaries, the oppressed peoples were called "non-Russians" ("inorodtsy"). Correspondingly, bourgeois ideologists classified such peoples as "hopeless".

Tsarism consistently and steadily followed a policy of oppressing the "non-Russians". They were deprived of the possibility to develop their national cultures. The languages of many peoples living in the most varied regions of the Russian empire (the North Caucasus, a number of regions in Central Asia, the Far East, Siberia) lacked written forms. Even those languages with a centuries-long history (for example, Georgian, Uzbek, Armenian and others) were limited in their spheres of use. Before the revolution, for example, neither the Ukrainian, nor the Georgian, nor the Moldavian, nor the Azerbaijani languages functioned in such an important sphere of peoples' lives as education.

V. I. Lenin determined paths of struggle for the rights of nations, including the right to their native languages, under the conditions of a bourgeois state and also worked out a program for developing national languages in socialist states. He looked upon the struggle for equality of national languages from an internationalist position -- as a struggle for the rights of all nations and national languages, not of any one nation or any one language at the expense of another. Lenin sharply condemned the concept of "national cultural autonomy", which was supported by the opportunists of the Second International (K. Kautskiy, O. Bauer, K. Renner and others). At the same time, Lenin foresaw that the bringing together of nations in a democratic state, having an economic foundation, would lead to one language becoming the most widespread, to becoming the language of common intercourse. This is an historically conditioned objective process. At the same time, the acceptance of a common means of intercourse by peoples must be voluntary; any kind of pressure or coercion is precluded.

Immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the young Soviet state set about carrying out Lenin's national policy: all nations and all national languages were declared equal. As is known, the Soviet Union is one of the most multinational and multilingual countries in the world; the peoples living in it speak more than 130 languages. During the years of Soviet power, about 50 languages have received a written form. This has led to generally intensive development of the national cultures of the peoples of our country.

In the development of the modern national languages of the peoples of the USSR, a natural process of increasingly widespread use is noticeable in the social, economic and cultural life of the peoples. An enormous role is being played in this regard by the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, by the universal availability of radio and television broadcasts and of periodical and mass-circulation publications in all branches of knowledge.

In socialist society, all the conditions are created for national languages and cultures to flourish. Soviet reality thoroughly refutes the fabrications of imperialist ideologues who assert that a "russification" of national languages is taking place in our country, that the languages that have recently acquired written form (that is, the languages of peoples in the USSR that have received written form since the October Revolution) are doomed to extinction. But isn't it really self-evident that the creation of a written form is itself a necessary condition for preserving a language and making possible its further development? In the USSR, there is no limit to the areas in which national languages can be used. There are no prohibitions on its use, and this includes its use in culture-related areas where, indeed, the literary forms of a language are mainly "worked out". The mainline direction of language development in the USSR is to ensure harmonious national language-Russian bilingualism, in which use of a national language and of the Russian language occurs in accordance with the specific circumstances of social intercourse.

As we have already mentioned, the term "bilingualism" denotes a person's mastery of two languages. At the same time, bilingualism is also the functioning of two languages within a definite territory, within a specific social collective, uniting representatives of various peoples.

National-Russian bilingualism, as a rule, is more widespread among the urban population of the union and autonomous republics than among the rural population. This is primarily explained by the fact that the population in rural areas is more homogeneous in terms of national composition and the character of labor there does not always require the use of the Russian language as a means of international intercourse. The degree to which a non-Russian population has mastered the Russian language is directly related to its more or less active use of the Russian language in various situations. The more varied the requirement and possibility for using the Russian language in one or another national collective, usually the higher is the level of knowledge of its oral and written forms, its grammatical system and its stylistic methods

The level of a bilingual person's knowledge of the Russian language can be checked by how much influence his native language has on his Russian speech. This influence makes itself known in breaches of modern literary norms -- in incorrect pronunciation, in lack of agreement in gender, number and case between words, in incorrect sentence structure, etc.

Violations of the norms of the Russian language are sometimes evaluated from the viewpoint of their significance to a specific communication situation. In other words, if mistakes in the Russian language do not hinder mutual understanding, then they are rated as being unimportant. However, the evaluation of oral mistakes from the position of their significance to a specific situation conceals a certain danger: If, let us say, a person becomes accustomed to certain errors in everyday conversational situations, then there is no guarantee that these mistakes will not be repeated at times when observance of literary norms is required, for instance in addresses at meetings and conferences and in the talks of the proagandist and the agitator.

The function of the Russian language as a means of international intercourse developed on the basis of the economic and cultural relations among the regions of the Soviet Union, with priority attention being given to economic management and production processes. It is significant that the primary and most active use of this language of international communication, this language of the working fraternity, is found in the most advanced segment of society -- the working class, which is international by its very nature.

The processes which are taking place in economic life are determining factors for the country's language situation. In the first place, they lead to changes in the national make-up of republics, krays and oblasts. On the basis of data from the last USSR census, Academician Yu. Bromley has noted that "in 1979, the number of people who did not belong to the basic nationalities of the union and autonomous republics already came to 55 million people, that is to more than 20 percent of country's population" (KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 5, p 58). In the second place, multinational collectives, uniting speakers of various languages, are being developed at industrial sites and construction projects. An objective necessity is thereby created for a common means of communication.

The Russian language is no less important in the sphere of Soviet multinational culture, although its function in each separate field of culture is different. If, for example, in the areas of music and painting its role is a product of live direct contact between individuals involved in these fields, then in the field of literature, its role becomes a key one since literary works are transmitted not by colors or by tunes, but by word.

Fiction, as one type of culture, reflects the historical experience of a people in the sphere of social and production relationships and, besides its ideological and esthetic function, realizes a cognitive function. In modern Soviet literature, along with the works of poets and authors of prose writing in the national languages of the peoples of the USSR, an important place is occupied by the products of bilingual writers who create their works both in the language of their own people and in the Russian language, the language of international intercourse. The works of bilingual writers -- representatives of both small and large peoples -- are distinguished by high artistic achievement. Soviet and foreign readers are well acquainted with the works of Chingiz Aytmatov, Vasil Bykov, Yuri Rytkheu, Timur Pulatov, Olzhas Suleymenov, Ion Drutse, Vladimir Sanga, Yuvan Shestalov, and many others. These works, while retaining their national characteristics, become the property of Soviet literature as a whole, at the same time facilitating the intensive mutual enrichment of modern national art forms.

The role which the Russian language plays in the life of our contemporaries, in the development of the literary process, in the individual works of writers, is described in the statements of poets and writers representing the literatures of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The well-known Armenian poetess S. Kaputikyan notes: "For us, the Russian language is more than a linguistic intermediary. The spiritual and emotional information which we receive every minute from life surrounding us, from our daily association with other peoples, which comprises part of our internal world,

most frequently of all enters our soul by means of Russian, with the participation of the Russian language. In the Soviet land, with its many peoples and many languages, knowledge of Russian is understood as something self-evident and as an integral part of a national memory that is undergoing transformations and is acquiring new nuances, the memory of the socialist nations" (NOVYY MIR, 1982, No 12, p 198).

Chingiz Aytmatov, whose pen is the source not only of short stories and novels, which have been translated into many languages of the peoples of the USSR and of foreign countries, but also of articles and notes concerning the significance of the Russian language in our country's life, is devoting great attention to questions of bilingual works. "I know writers", writes Aytmatov, "who write equally well and expressively in two languages. I must refer to my own case. I write my books in the Kirgiz and the Russian languages. If the book is first written in the Kirgiz language, I translate it into Russian, and vice versa. In doing this, I receive enormous satisfaction from such bilateral work. For a writer, this is extremely interesting internal work which leads -- I am convinced -- to improvement in style and enrichment of linguistic imagery" (Ch. Aytmatov, "Man Between Two Languages" from the book "In Co-authorship with Earth and Water", Frunze, 1978, p 110).

The Russian language is becoming a theme of artistic works and its praises are sung in poetry, along with those of the poet's native language. Rasul Gamzatov has devoted one of his poems to this theme:

I love the language of those cradle songs
And those stories that I heard in childhood,
But I was told of infinitely distant prospects
And was given all my fellow citizens as friends
By another language. With it, I crossed the mountains,

In order to comprehend the grandeur of my motherland.
This was the mighty language, in which
Wrote and spoke Ilich.
And with all my heart, the son of arrogance, I have come
To consider this great tongue as my own.

The creative interaction of national literatures is greatly facilitated by Russian translations, which make the works of national authors, written in native languages, accessible to very wide readership in the Soviet Union. This is the part of artistic cultural interaction which emerges as an active force in educating the Soviet people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. At the same time, translation also directly influences development of national literatures, as the works created by outstanding artists of the written word from the various republics, through the medium of the Russian language, are included within the circle of the creative contacts of writers of various nationalities. The well-known Kalmyk poet David Kugultinov has spoken convincingly about this

aspect of Soviet multinational literature: "...Through the Russian language, I get to know the modern world, culture, and achievements of human thought in all its spheres. Without it, I would be deaf...If I had been deprived of what my brother writers have done for me, I would not have succeeded in becoming a writer who can be called modern. Without this as well Kaysyn Kuliyev would not be Kuliyev, Mustay Karim would not be Karim, and Bazhan would not be Bazhan. Without Tvardovskiy, Tikhonov, Dudin, Yegor Isayev. Each of us would not have become what he is if we did not make use of the discoveries of each other".

The notion of a modern literary process implies not only creative works by contemporary writers. New translations are appearing of writers from the distant and not so distant past, whose works, as it were, are striding through the decades and centuries and are receiving a reading audience the likes of which a poet, living, let us say, several centuries ago, could not even imagine. It now can be said with certainty that new editions and translations of such great poets of the East as Nizami, Omar Khayyam, Makhtumkuli and others are making their contribution to the spiritual life of our contemporaries, for their thoughts about love of the motherland, their passions, doubts and hopes, embodied in contemporary artistic form, are common to all people.

To what has been said, we would also like to add the not insignificant fact that translations of the works of national writers into the languages of other peoples of the USSR and into foreign languages are basically accomplished through Russian translation, since the practice of directly translating an original from one national language into another national language still does not satisfy the enormous demand for translations in the country. A Russian translation is, first of all, a text in the Russian language, addressed to a reader, irrespective of his nationality, for whom the Russian language is either his native tongue or a language for international communication.

Real life completely shows up the fabrications of bourgeois theorists. On one hand, they are trying to force the spiritual life of the peoples of the USSR to "fit into" a far-fetched concept of the unification of national cultures, while closing their eyes to the clear manifestation of national distinctiveness which is being preserved in the fiction of the peoples of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they view national cultural diversity in our country as a sign of political pluralism. In essence, these two points of view, both equally without substance, represent two sides of the same coin. Under conditions of full equality of all nations and all national languages, national artistic cultures receive kinds of stimuli to development which, of course, are not found and cannot be found in bourgeois society. In socialist society, where there are no social and national antagonisms, one culture does not and cannot suppress another. The national cultures of the large and small peoples of our country comprise a multinational Soviet culture not as a result of their mechanical "quantitative" unification, but as a qualitatively new phenomenon in the development of world culture as a whole.

In the new edition of the CPSU Program, the process of interaction among national cultures is revealed in the light of new tasks for perfecting national relationships. Among the latter is the "development of a unified culture of the Soviet people which is socialist in content, diverse in terms of national form, and international in spirit, on the basis of the best achievements and original, progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR. The growth and coming together of national cultures, the strengthening of their interrelationships, makes their mutual enrichment more fruitful and opens to Soviet people the broadest of possibilities to obtain the entire wealth created by the talents of each of the peoples in our country".

The internationalist tendencies in modern national Soviet literatures are noticeable in the very character of their mutual relationships and influences. They manifest themselves in various ways. Worth noting, for example, is the way a national writer treats phenomena surrounding the labor, way of life, and art of another nation, the life of another people. Thus, Chingiz Aytmatov's story "Piebald Dog, Running on the Edge of the Sea" is based on a theme from the life of the Niva; the Armenian writer Leonid Gurunts called two cycles of his essays "My Far East" and "The Hot Heart of the North"; the Moldavian writer Ion Drutse tells about the Baltic republics -- about Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia ("Birches, Bread and Bravery") and about the people of these republics -- the national craftsmen, peasants and fishermen, about Baltic culture and nature. He writes about them with tenderness and love, treating them as he might treat his native land: "My Country, Estonia...".

When an Armenian writer says "My Far East", and a Moldavian writes about "My Country, Estonia", we have full reason to see in this a feeling of great community, which is characteristic of the entire Soviet people and of all Soviet multinational literature. Such works affirm the proud thought regarding the significance of all that which is being created by the various peoples, about the need to get to know and to assimilate the moral, cultural and living experience of all socialist nations.

The internationalist tendencies in the spiritual life of the Soviet people have enormous significance in the upbringing of the rising generation. They are directly related to problems of school education and, particularly, to improving Russian language instruction in national schools and higher education institutions. Secondary schools in particular are called upon to provide a basic knowledge of the Russian language which can serve as a reliable foundation for perfecting the harmonious national language-Russian bilingualism of the pupil, oriented toward his future labor activity and spiritual demands. Bilingualism in the USSR at the present stage corresponds to the main natural laws governing the development of Soviet society.

An important and responsible task confronts Soviet linguistic science -- to find the optimum means and forms to help the pupils of national schools to master the Russian language. Of course, this problem can be solved only through the joint efforts of teachers, methodologists, psychologists,

sociologists and linguists. The creation of a corresponding complex program is becoming a first-priority task. On the basis of party documents which define tasks for further improving general secondary education and for improving conditions of school work and of Russian language study, this program must take into account the various sides and aspects of the process of teaching the Russian language and literature. In our opinion, special responsibility in developing this program lies with the linguists: it is precisely they who must determine the volume of necessary material for each stage of study, who must establish the sequence and continuity of knowledge to be acquired by the pupils over all the years of their study in school, must create various kinds of teaching materials, while considering the high demands of modern speech usage. Such a complex program should be oriented not only to the personality of the student, but also to the personality of the teacher.

The teaching skill of the teacher and the volume and depth of his knowledge will to a large extent determine the students' knowledge and interest in the subject. In this connection, the level of preparation of a teacher of the Russian language and literature in a national school should not be any different than the level of preparation of a teachers of these same subjects in a Russian school. A special feature in this case is the fact that the national school teacher has a possibility to operate with the facts of the national language, literature and, more extensively, the national culture in drawing comparisons with materials pertaining to the Russian language and to Russian literature. At the same time, the complex program should take into account the specific requirements of the republics, krays and oblasts, their needs in the area of Russian language and literature instruction depending on urban or rural conditions and this, in turn, envisages the participation of specialists from the various regions of the country in creating this program.

In the Russian Language Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, works intended for secondary school teachers and pupils -- dictionaries, reference books, and texts -- have been planned and are being produced along the lines of this complex program, further development of which envisages joint activity by various institutes of a social and pedagogical nature. This program must be primarily oriented toward the development of harmonious individual bilingualism.

The free development of national languages, their equal right to be used along with the language of international communication -- this is the solution found by socialist society to the national-language problem. The Russian language has become a powerful means for welding together the peoples of the Soviet Union, a language of friendship and brotherhood. The use of national language - Russian language bilingualism is emerging as one of the conditions for the continued flourishing of the nations and nationalities of our country, their steady drawing together on the basis of free will, equality and fraternal cooperation.

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CULTURE

CONFLICT OVER PROFITS DELAYS VIDEO SERVICES IN ESTONIA

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by T. Burlakova, under "Here's an Idea!" rubric: "... We Want It Today, We Want It Now"]

[Text] What is a video library? It is a library of video cassettes where you can come and choose a film or program to entertain your family and friends. However, since video cassette recorders have not yet become as common here as refrigerators and televisions, an even better idea is a video salon where you can select a cassette and watch it on the premises -- in a cubicle if you are alone, in a larger area if you are with your family or friends, or in a hall if you have come in a large party. The first video salon to open was in the center of Moscow; then they began to be established in large cities and republic capitals.

Campaigning for video libraries is like trying to break down an open door. There is a greater shortage of "cons" than of "pros." For this reason, at the beginning of this year, the "pro" position became law by virtue of the joint decrees of the Estonian CP Central Committee and the ESSR Council of Ministers. The ESSR State Committee on Cinematography has been made responsible for implementing this idea.

"Will the first lucky people be able to visit the video library soon?" we asked the Film Lending and Advertising Administration of the ESSR Goskino.

"I don't know!" the director of the "Estfilmofond" association, Reet Land, answered honestly. "The major ingredient is still missing -- the quarters."

"And when will quarters be available?"

"I don't know!" the deputy chairman of the Tallinn gorispolkom, Yuhannes Lepp, answered honestly. "We have no suitable buildings empty, there aren't even any shacks that aren't being used. If we give quarters to the film lending service, then we'll be taking them away from someone else. Out of the frying pan into the fire."

At this point it is time to put a period indicating that the fact-finding portion of this article has come to an end. But it would be a shame to put a period after the ideal! Especially, since the State plan stipulates that in the current year an additional 32 video salons, including one in Tallinn, will be added to the 12 presently existing in the nation. Looking ahead, I can say that by the end of the five-year plan there will be no fewer than 300 video salons in the nation!

But there are no unoccupied facilities in the city. Facilities can only be obtained through building or conversion. When new movie theatres are built they will be designed to house video salons. But that is a matter for future five-year plans. For now the film lending service has been told to find its own internal resources. For example, they could convert the "Pioneer" theatre. But that's our only children's movie theatre, and it also shows second-run films and documentaries. Are we to fulfill the plan by reducing the already sparse number of Tallinn movie theatres by one? The film lending service has concluded, reasonably, that this is not the solution.

Well how can one be found? Consumer Services. For a long time this agency has not only been keeping us mended and cleaned, but -- directly or indirectly -- has been concerned with our recreation, repairing televisions and tape recorders, supplying us with toastmasters for our ceremonies, lending out tourist gear for our hiking trips, involving us in aerobics. How is the service related to video libraries? Right now, no way at all. But wouldn't it make sense to take a broken video player to the same place we'd take a broken television, to "Electron." By the way, as long as we are counting our chickens before they've hatched, let me tell you that they are already training workers there to fix video recorders. Maybe they could find suitable accommodations as well. After all, from the point of view of the consumer services, a video salon involves lending out cassettes and video recorders for use on the premises, and the service has had a great deal of experience in lending, including lending of radio and television equipment. A situation arises such as O'Henry describes with respect to meat, onion and cabbage in his story "The Third Ingredient." The film lending service has the cassettes and the equipment, the Ministry of Consumer Affairs has the space, and we, you and I, have a great desire to use it all. So, can we persuasively ask the Ministry of Consumer Affairs to join our party?

"Are you joking?" suspiciously asked the Ministry of Consumer Affairs, in the person of the director of the division of consumer appliances and vehicles, Yuriy Andrusov. "We ourselves offered our services, but were rejected categorically."

Why? Because the lending of films, like the English common law, puts precedent above all else, and there was no precedent for the Consumer Services to participate in the establishment and running of video libraries and video salons.

The endeavor to learn from experience is a laudable thing. But the experience of other cities irrefutably demonstrates that equipment, alas, frequently breaks down. Is it sensible to maintain a separate staff of video repairmen, when one exists already in "Elektron"? Especially, since the intention is to

replace the malfunctioning videotape machine with a working one right away, rather than wasting time trying to locate the fault, trying the customer's patience.

The head of the Minsk video library, Tatyana Mironova, dreams of the time when a videotape machine can be rented the way televisions and washing machines are today, but in Tallinn they waved away the proposal of the consumer services people as if it were a bothersome fly.

The major reason for this is not so much that the film lending agency acknowledges only the highway and disdains back roads offering a shortcut to the destination; nor that they fear losing the leading role in video services (the consumer service people have no intention of encroaching on the ideological side of this endeavor -- the cassettes themselves, the set of titles available, work with the viewers); nor even that they do not want to accept a stop-gap solution (since the solution proposed in no way implies renunciation of the opportunity of having a large and comfortable video salon some time in the future). The root of this interagency incompatibility lies in the issue of how the revenues are to be divided. The consumer agency is not about to perform these services as a charitable act, and the film lending people do not want to share the future profits. But what do you and I care in whose pocket our rubles end up? After all, in the final analysis, any pocket belongs to the state.

Yet, as long as the film lending people, unruffled by the fact that time is swiftly passing, have come to no agreement with the Ministry of Consumer Affairs, which is understandably losing interest in the idea, we, unlike the heroes of O'Henry's story, are left each with his separate interests: the film lenders hold on to their piece of meat for future use, the consumer services agency chews its baked potato, and we weep bitterly over our onion.

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CULTURE

REPORT DETAILS POOR QUALITY OF DOMESTIC CASSETTE TAPES

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 16 April 1986 features a 1000-word article on page 6 describing the inability of Soviet firms to produce high quality compact cassette tapes to satisfy customer demands. With the introduction of imported cassette tapes in 1983, over 9.2 million were sold in the RSFSR alone in one year. Commodity researcher A. Nilov claims that "when Japanese and German cassette tapes were introduced into the market, the defects in ours became more obvious, and demand for them fell." Rather than continue importing tapes, the Soviets decided to improve their own, which were all of one length and a single "average" quality.

In attempting to produce tapes of varying quality, the Soviets ran into a number of problems, among them the lack of proper equipment, lack of 'clean' fiber, lack of market surveys to determine the exact needs of customers, and lack of agreement on how to proceed. One fact is clear, the author feels, "in ten years of production of cassette tapes, their quality has not changed in the least." At the rate things are going, a "normal" tape of high quality will not be developed for the market before 1990, he concludes.

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CULTURE

MORE 'PATRIOTIC ACTIVISM' ASKED OF FILMWRITERS

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 23 April 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,700 word AzerINFORM report on the 6th Congress of Azerbaijan Cinematographers. R. I. Ibrahimbeyon, first secretary of the republic Cinematographers Union Ispolkom, said in his accounting report that "the number of Azeri films in the All-Union Quality award class has declined. The lack of enough patriotic activism of some capable scenario writers is one of the important reasons for this. They have been unsuccessful in implementing this and other very interesting motifs. Scenarios are still being written whose artistic qualities and ideas are not meeting the growing demands of the day." He also pointed out that Azerbaijanfilm, by not making maximal use of its creative resources, is having a "negative effect on the film process." /6662

UNION REPUBLICS NEGLECT WORKS OF AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 11 April 1986 carries on page 7 a 1,200 word report by A. Ibrahimov filed from Moscow on the plenum of the Soviet Committee for Relations With Writers of Asia and Africa, at which it was noted that there is a need to strengthen the propagandizing and dissemination of African and Asian literature, and to eliminate the lack of a system in publishing these works in union republics. It was pointed out that "republic committees are giving no help in staging the works of Asian and African dramatists" and "the showing of films produced by African and Asian cinematographers is in an unsatisfactory state." It was also mentioned that "no major work of art discussing Asian and African solidarity has been written in recent years." In addition, "not enough attention is being given to Asian and African literature in republic literary journals." /6662

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SOCIAL ISSUES

BROMLEY, KULICHENKO VIEW ROLE OF NATIONALITY IN SOVIET LIFE

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 13 Feb 86) pp 62-74

[Article by Yu. V. Bromley, academician, director of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N.N. Miklukho-Maklaya, USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy chief technical secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, author of many works on issues in history and ethnography; and M.I. Kulichenko, doctor of historical sciences, professor, sector director of the Institute of Marxism and Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, author of many works on the theory of nations and ethnic relations, the methodology for studying them, and the history of the development and interactions among peoples: "The National and the International in the Way of Life of the Soviet Citizen." This article is reproduced from the new edition of the collective monograph under the auspices of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Kirghiz SSR: "The International and the National in the Socialist Way of Life of the Soviet People." Passages in all capital letters are published in italics.]

[Text] At the most general, comprehensive level, the Soviet way of life can be considered as it is lived by the entire Soviet people. The way of life of each of the nations and nationalities which comprise the Soviet people, can be considered as a special case of the overall socialist way of life as lived by the Soviet people. Not only do the nations and nationalities have ways of life with their own specific traits, but so too do other social groups, such as classes, occupational groups, etc. Finally, ways of life can be considered at the level of the individual.

Although diverse personality theories have been developed in Soviet social sciences¹, all are based on Karl Marx's well-known tenet that, in essence, each man is the sum of his social relationships. Each individual is, so to speak, the point of intersection of a set of social relationships, which are defined by the interactions among social groups. To fully describe the characteristics of a particular individual, one must know the totality of these relationships. Moreover, if one is to analyze the personality of an individual in depth, it is not only permissible, it is essential to emphasize the social relationships among different social groups as they are reflected in the individual. In this regard, it is completely legitimate to consider the individual in the guise of a member of a given nationality and, in this

context, to consider the the issue of the relationships between the national and international as reflected in the individual personality.

In discussing how specific ideas about the national and international are formed in the consciousness of an individual, we must not forget that, in the ultimate analysis, these ideas are generated by the nation as a whole, and that the life of the nation, in turn, is predetermined by its leading class and by the objective principles controlling the functioning and development of our multinational society. In this regard, we cannot help but remember the statement of the famous Soviet psychologist, A. Leontyev, that the essence of the human "ego" is not internal, but external to him.² At first, this appears to be a paradox, but, in actuality, it is simply another way of stating Marx's idea that the essence of an individual's personality lies in the system of social relationships in which he participates.

Of course, neither national consciousness nor national psychology can exist apart from man. But the social organism also has an objective existence; that is, there is such a thing as a nation as a whole, which is characterized by definite aspects of national consciousness and national psychology; those who bear such traits are considered to be representative of the nation. These spiritual phenomena, which reflect objective national relationships act as external social factors with regard to these individuals. The ethnic ideas and feelings which the members of new generations develop are shaped not only through the direct impressions and experiences of each individual, but also, to a significant extent, through the assimilation of the individual's personality to the already existing national consciousness and national psychology of the entire people.

One cannot help but note that in Soviet scientific literature the treatment of the problem of national consciousness and national psychology is marked by very divergent points of view. This was particularly evident during discussion of the problem of the theory of nations on the pages of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII [Problems in History] (1966-1970). While certain participants in the discussions (A. Agayev, P. Rogachev, M. Sverdlin, et al.) asserted that national consciousness (or self consciousness) is one of the attributes of a nation, other researchers, in particular the editors of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII in the paper summarizing the discussion, reacted negatively to this assertion.

It is indisputable that as long as nations exist, national consciousness and national psychology are realities. One could cite innumerable examples to demonstrate that national consciousness has had in the past and continues to have enormous significance in the fates of peoples. In a number of cases, when the very existence of a nation was threatened, national consciousness has turned out to be even stronger than class consciousness. Under socialism, national consciousness not only does not disappear, but undergoes further development as it assimilates a greater and greater proportion of international elements.

Recently in our country, there has been definite progress in the study of the problems of national consciousness and national psychology. A number of specialized monographs have appeared which examine the reflection of the major

parameters of the national way of life in the consciousness of the individual³. However, many aspects of the problem of the relationship between the national and the international in the structure of the personality have still not been adequately addressed. This is particularly true with regard to national consciousness.

In this connection, it is important to reemphasize that the representation of the national and the international in the individual consciousness reflects, although not always adequately, the dialectics of their embodiment in the life of a given nation or nationality. At the same time it is obvious that there is a pressing need to clearly define the various levels at which the national and the international manifest themselves. These are different in the lives of various nations and nationalities, and even more so among the people belonging to a given nationality.

When we speak of changes in the relationship between the international and the national in the way of life of the Soviet people, we refer not to the displacement of one by the other, but to various forms of interaction and interpenetration characteristic, first of all, of various stages in the maturing of Communist structures, and second, of various aspects and spheres of human activity (work, family relationships, everyday concerns, spiritual culture, etc.). If one compares the modern stage of development of our society with the first years of socialist construction, then one readily concludes that, over the course of this period, the relationship between the national and the international in individual consciousness has altered -- the dialectic unity of the two factors has grown stronger, with the international factor increasingly taking the leading, defining role.

The following points should be made with regard to national consciousness as a factor in the personalities of the architects of Communism. First, the national consciousness was cleansed of an enormous amount of what was outmoded and inconsistent with the socialist way of life. Second, the consciousness of the individual reflected the new factors which had arisen in the national culture during the years that socialism was being built. After all, during this period each of the nations and nationalities of our country was enriched with scientific and artistic works reflecting the socialist experience of the people [as a whole], whose unity was based on principles of collectivism and internationalism. It is indicative, for example, that three fourths of the literature which is printed today in the USSR was written by Soviet authors. The basic subject matter of these literary works, as well as materials published in periodicals, and broadcast on radio and television in all the republics concerns the current problems of modern life. Third, the national consciousness of Soviet man now incorporates the phenomenon of mutual enrichment among national cultures. An enormous portion of the content of the culture of each socialist nation or nationality now consists of elements borrowed from other nations and nationalities, as well as of indigenous elements which have now become the common inheritance of Soviets of all ethnic groups.

We would like to emphasize that the relationship between the national and the international is by no means identical in representatives of various nations or in different spheres of life. Thus, although living conditions are

virtually identical in Belorussia and Estonia, indicators reflecting the spiritual needs of their populations are quite different. For example, in the late 1970's in Belorussia 16 percent of the literature published was translated, while in Estonia, this proportion was 45.5 percent; in the Belorussian SSR 2/5 of all theatrical performances were devoted to [indigenous] national drama, while in the Estonian SSR the corresponding fraction was 2/3; the fraction of students in the vuses belonging to the indigenous nationality of the republic was 10 percent lower than their proportional representation in the population as a whole in BSSR, but 5.5 percent higher in ESSR; and the proportion of scientists of indigenous nationality was 32.4 percent and 16 percent, respectively. All this, of course, has its effects on the level of development of the ethnic self-consciousness of individuals. However, in spite of all the differences, on the whole, the international foundations of the consciousness of Soviet people are growing firmer and firmer, as is the unity of the national and the international in their beliefs and actions.

The national cannot have positive significance in people's lives if it takes the form of a static, stagnant state. The social needs of peoples require the continual renewal and development of the national, its constant enrichment by the international. Razul Gamzat described the transformation of the national in consciousness and psychology very well: "The feeling of self-worth, national self-consciousness, the feeling of our being at one with all humanity, and of commonality of interests may be the major attainment of these sixty years in the life of my Dagestan ⁴." The major trend in the development of the national consciousness lies precisely in the growth of this feeling of being at one with all of humanity, in the continual enrichment by the international, in the fact that the feeling of being "openly, and joyfully at one with the world" (Yu. Martsinkyavichyus) increasingly becomes the characteristic spiritual attribute of representatives of every nation and nationality.

Academician P. Fedoseyev, characterizing the embodiment of the national and international in the consciousness of Soviets, with complete justification emphasized that "perception of the world by dividing it up into 'us' and 'them,' which defines other nations primarily in negative terms, ceases to be a necessary prerequisite of the way the individual experiences affiliation with a given nation. The world of other nations itself becomes a positive value for each national consciousness; value is attached both to what is common to all nations and to what is the particular contribution of a given or people to the treasure house of multinational culture⁵."

In accordance with the nature and goals of socialism, national factors in the life of each Soviet citizen, in his opinions and activities, must be evaluated under the presupposition that the leading role belongs to the international. The main criterion to be used in this evaluation is the labor of all for the good of the entire multinational Soviet people, the quantity and quality of this labor, and its significance for all nations and nationalities of the country.

Many researchers note that at the present time the national consciousness of the Soviet people is undergoing a process of development. This generally

correct conclusion must be made more specific and precise. National consciousness is not simply growing in general, rather what is being enhanced is the significance of all that is positive within the national. Within the positive, the emphasis is on what has been created by a nation or nationality under modern conditions and on what has been obtained through interaction with other nations.

What has led to this sort of development of national consciousness? The first factor is the internationalist nature of socialism, its democratic spirit and humanism, as well as the resulting concern of the Communist Party and Soviet Government to facilitate the satisfaction of national interests and to foster and encourage increasing rapprochement between nations and nationalities. A qualitatively new kind of foundation for the renewal and development of the national has been created in the USSR. On this foundation an internationalist social orientation is developing in the aspirations and actions of Soviet people. Out of concern for the well-being of their own nations or national groups, they have focussed on the solution of the common problems of the whole family of fraternal national groups, on the multiplication of their shared wealth, and on support of joint successes in perfecting socialist society. The ideas of the workers of our country about the past and present lives of the nations and nationalities to which they belong and about the essence of national interests and the means by which they may be satisfied have been reassessed from the standpoint of socialist internationalism. A new national pride has grown up, grounded in internationalism, and organically linked with pride in the achievement of the entire fraternal family of nations, and of the worldwide socialist community.

Our time is a time of undeviating deepening of the processes of internationalization, which have been developing particularly rapidly under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution. But, at the same time, this revolution also serves as a basis for the development of national consciousness. First, by furthering the growth and improvement of material production, it creates more favorable conditions for national development and this, of course, is reflected in the national consciousness. Second, it is impossible to neglect the fact that the development of the mass media, which has accompanied the scientific-technological revolution, plays an important role under socialism in disseminating the true values of culture in its multiplicity of national forms. This helps the individual to find in his own culture and that of other nations that which satisfies the new spiritual needs of his life, as well as to discard that which is inimicable to these needs. Such selection is by no means a simple process. Renunciation of ideas, standards, customs, and elimination of them from the national repertory, is often difficult and sometimes even painful, and is thus perceived by some people as a "loss" of the national. Because of this, ideological measures which attempt to strengthen the unity of the international and the national within the consciousness of members of society play an important role. The goal of these measures is to give the people scientific ideas about social reality, and in particular, about its national aspects.

As a result of the study of this reality, the social sciences, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, disclose the essence of national phenomena and not

only provide people with knowledge about these phenomena, but also foster the appropriate emotional responses. Like literature and art, the social sciences are capable of engendering emotions in people, including those belonging in the area of national psychology. The roles of such disciplines as history, ethnography, archaeology, linguistics, literary criticism, art criticism, and folklore, which deal with national content, are particularly noteworthy in this regard. The accumulation of knowledge about the history of each of the national groups in the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist nations, elucidation of their national traditions, identification of the achievements of their national cultures, explication of the processes of linguistic development, and of the specifics of folklore, arts and crafts, customs, rituals, etc, as well as propaganda disseminating such knowledge in schools, museums, literature, movies, radio and television, all this has had and continues to have a direct influence on the national self-consciousness of the Soviet people.

As for the mechanism through which such influence is attained, it seems important to note that the national self-consciousness of a people, like that of an individual, rests, to a significant extent, on the properties of MEMORY. A person cannot be conscious of himself as a stable, integrated entity if he does not remember his past and is not aware of the continuity of his motivations and activities. In precisely the same way, a people is aware of itself as a community primarily by virtue of the continuity of its culture, and historical fortunes and traditions. NATIONAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS IS ALWAYS HISTORICAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS, establishing the continuity of the link between the present and future and the past. One of the main functions of the social sciences is to make the self-consciousness of a national group manifest, so as to permit the individuals comprising this group to develop a deeper understanding of their historical roots, to grasp the meaning of their historical inheritance, and to assess the true worth of the deeds and cultural heritage of their forefathers.

However, the influence of the historical past has other aspects. No people developed separately, in isolation from other peoples. And in the process of development the relationships between peoples took different forms. In some cases they were friendly and in others hostile. Between some peoples there was collaboration on a more or less equal footing, between others there was a relationship of domination and subordination. The history of any given people is inseparable from the history of its relations with other peoples. This imposes great social responsibility on the scholar or writer who interprets the past, [and thus influences] its reflection in the national consciousness of the people.

Bourgeois nationalistic historiography, which propounds the theory of national discrimination, contrasts the culture and traditions of one set of peoples to those of another. The approach of the Marxist historian is very different. Of course, he cannot and should not whitewash the past, hushing up the history of wars and international hostility, national oppression and inequality. No matter how good the intentions of the historian, distortion of the past takes cruel revenge. It acts as a boomerang, since the most critical problems and facts of international relations are thereby delivered into the hands of the nationalists, who use these facts to undermine the ideology of

internationalism. The committed Marxist scholar traces the entire [self-] contradictory whole of historical development, without trying to rip the individual threads of friendship or enmity from the fabric of the past. However, he does not conceal that it is the traditions of friendship, and not enmity, which are precious to him, as are the phenomena which facilitate development of a way of life based on the principles of internationalism.

It should be kept in mind that, however paradoxical this may seem at first glance, as the scientific and technological revolution has increased the scale of internationalization, there has been a quickening of interest in the sources of the uniqueness of peoples, in their spiritual cultures. It is true that folklore is sometimes regarded as virtually the most important thing that national cultures have to offer. Such viewpoints are particularly strongly evident in the realm of literature: return to the past, assimilation of myths and legends has become here and there a sort of fashion. There have been a number of works in which the authors, either totally or in part, endeavor to look at the present through the prism of the past. Idealization of the past is also encountered. And the harm done here is not limited to the fact that such idealization distorts history and inclines people toward an incorrect perception of the present. Deviation from class evaluation criteria, on which such idealization is based, may also manifest itself with regard to the present, in opposition to the objective process of internationalization of Soviet society.

* * *

In order to take full account of the influence of national and international factors on the Soviet way of life, a special study of the specific manifestations of these factors must be undertaken. First and foremost, this pertains to international attitudes at the level of the individual. We are pleased to report that, thanks to the efforts of our ethnosociologists, the study of this issue has made significant progress recently⁶. Their results and conclusions clearly testify to the internationalist attitudes of Soviet citizens in the area of relationships among national groups. For example, in Moldavia, an average of 90 percent of the Moldavians and Russians in the city and up to 80 percent in rural areas expressed favorable attitudes toward intermarriage between national groups. It should be borne in mind that the majority of the rest of those interviewed had no objection to contacts with other nationalities on the job. People who object to various types of direct contacts among national groups are very rare. In the Tatar ASSR, by the early 1970's, the number of such individuals among urban and rural residents did not exceed 2-4 percent (for Tatars and Russians), and these, as a rule, were people who had not mastered a second language. A tendency has been observed for people who are well-disposed to active contacts among nationalities to make extensive use of international cultural resources.

An important factor facilitating the enrichment of national consciousness and national psychology through the addition of international elements is the migration of populations and the associated increase in ethnic diversity in all the republics. The rate of migration, and concurrent changes in indicators of national diversity are not the same in the various republics of the USSR. Thus, from 1959 to 1978 in the RSFSR and five other Union republics

the proportion of the indigenous nationality in the population decreased somewhat. This was caused by a decrease in the birth rate, as well as by migration, primarily to new settlements, where there was a critical need for work forces. At the same time in nine Union republics, the proportion of indigenous nationalities in the population grew. However, in two of these (the Lithuanian and Armenian SSRs) this growth was small, while in the remainder it was significant. Again this was caused by two factors: on the one hand, the maintenance and, in some individual cases, the partial increase in the birth rate, and, on the other hand, the fact that only an insignificant portion of the population of these republics migrated. This phenomenon is evidently associated, to a major extent, with national traditions.

The differences in migration rates among people of various nationalities, which were established by the census of 1970, still exist. And for this reason, for example, the numbers of Russians and Belorussians living outside their republics continue to increase steadily: between 1959 and 1978, by 3.2 and 2.6 percent, respectively. Among other nationalities, the rate of growth of this parameter has slowed: for Ukrainians this parameter increased by only 0.15 percent, for the Georgians by 0.47 percent, and for the Moldavians by 1 percent. The number of people in all other national groups with their own Union republics who participated in migration decreased by 1-9.5 percent. The increase in the proportion of people belonging to nationalities with their own autonomous republics who live outside those territories was very small.

The results of the study of population mobility in various republics confirms the tendencies noted. Thus, in the Buryat ASSR, the indigenous population engages virtually exclusively in intrarepublic migration. That this is also the case in a number of the republics of Central Asia was established by the 1970 census, which revealed that only 1-1.5 percent of the rural population of the Tajik and Turkmen SSRs participated in migration, of which two thirds was intrarepublic.

The data cited is particularly worthy of attention in light of the party line on the further enhancement of the role of all the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs in the solution of problems concerning the state as a whole, and on the active participation of workers of all nationalities in the work of governing and administrative bodies. Within the context of our topic, the question of the influence of national consciousness and national psychology on these processes takes on particular importance.

An in-depth scientific analysis of the reasons for the stability of the national and the possible means of influencing it would seem to be essential. At the present time national traits manifest themselves to different degrees and in different spheres in different national groups: in the Soviet East more in the sphere of family and day-to-day life; and in the peoples of the European portion of the USSR more, if you will, in the area of professional standards. Thus, ethnosociological studies have established almost diametrically opposed points of view with regard to identical aspects of life. For example, consent of parents for marriage is considered essential by

22 percent of Estonians, but 88 percent and 92 percent of urban and rural Uzbeks, respectively.

If patriotic and internationalist education is to be effective, it is essential to give due consideration to the particular ways national consciousness is manifested. The significance of such work is defined by the humanistic nature of the process of forming the new man, and further improvement of the socialist way of life.

Marxism-Leninism has always begun and now begins by acknowledging the human being as the highest value in the world. This is the essence of the humanism of Communist ideology and of the constructive practical activity of the party of Lenin. This real humanism is inextricably tied to internationalism and, by its very nature, is incompatible with any form of nationalism or racism. It was no accident that one of the first acts of the Great October Socialist Revolution was to end limitations on the rights of the individual on the basis of nationality, since there is nothing more destructive of human worth than inequality based on nationality or race. The tenet of the equality of citizens of all races and nationalities was an organic part of the all of the Basic Laws of the Nation of Soviets. It was reinforced in the USSR Constitution of 1977.

Human rights, of course, are not limited to the level of the individual. After all, each person is a member of an ethnosocial community (nation, or nationality), and the governmental and legal status of this community is far from being a matter of indifference to him. It is only in this light that we can truly appreciate the humanistic nature of Lenin's idea of forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a federation of republics enjoying equal rights. The birth of this Union led to a level of development of all aspects of all the nationalities of our Fatherland, such as has not been known by a single state throughout the entire history of mankind.

Achievements in the area of economic, social and cultural progress by the peoples of our country is reflected in the psychology of the Soviets. We must pay due regard, however, to the fact that the pre-existing psychological attitudes continue to exist in the form of relics, even when the factors which gave rise to them have died out. For this reason, the area of national psychology remains an important part of the ideological education work of the party. An important goal of this work is to engender an internationalist, Marxist-Leninist world view, as well as a stable Soviet personality in the broad masses of workers.

The ideas of a proletarian, socialist internationalism cause certain processes to operate in the sphere of social consciousness and these, in turn, do much toward creating a cultural climate of community among ethnic groups and also a particular psychological climate of community among people belonging to a variety of national groups, which plays an important role in rapprochement among nations. This is precisely the reason why we must pay close attention to every one of all of the problems arising in the area of ethnic relations as a result of the dynamics of our society's development, even problems which at times appear to be of little significance. This holds true with regard to the

satisfaction of special cultural needs in the areas of language, culture, or everyday life of citizens belonging to particular nationalities. This is also relevant to the issue of the strict observance of the right of each nationality to due representation in party and state agencies and also pertains to other manifestations of respect for national feelings, and the ethnic dignity of each person.

According to the statutes of the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program, the main tasks of the party in the area of improving ethnic relations will include creative utilization of Lenin's principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism as a basis for expanding the forms of interaction among ethnic groups, in the interests of the Soviet People as a whole and of each nation and nationality in particular.

The humanistic victories of socialism in the sphere of ethnic relations, as in any other sphere, is the common property of all Soviet people. We could cite innumerable examples reflecting the new factors which socialism introduced into these relations; families bringing up children of different nationalities in the difficult war and postwar years; thousands of young men and women of various nationalities coming as volunteers to rebuild Tashkent after it had been had been destroyed by an earthquake, to build the Nurekskaya Hydroelectric Plant, and the Baykal-Amur mainline; to open up Nechernozemye, and assimilate the rich expanses of Siberia and the Far East. A multitude of examples testify to the fact that friendship among peoples has entered the flesh and blood of the life of our society. This friendship, this unshakable unity of people of all nationalities of our country is the living embodiment of the humanism and internationalism of a mature socialist society and its way of life. The cohesion of citizens of all nationalities is one of the most important factors in the formation of a historically new type of personality, imbued with progressive social qualities such as collectivism, Soviet patriotism, and rational internationalism.

The consciousness of the workers in our multinational Soviet society, which has entered the stage of mature socialism, has developed a number of new characteristics. The most important of these is the development and increasing importance of an international consciousness reflecting the international unity of our society, which coexists with the national consciousness of an individual nation or nationality. Like the national consciousness of each individual nation or nationality, the consciousness of the Soviet people as a community is internationalist. It is based on profound transformations of the content and forms of national consciousness and exists in dialectic unity with the latter on various levels -- that of the Soviet people as a whole, of each national community, and of the individual.

The new strategic direction of the CPSU, directed at the qualitative transformation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society as a means to accelerate the social and economic development of our nation, is indissolubly linked with an increase in the role of the human factor, including due regard for the national and international elements in the life of each Soviet citizen. The programmatic documents of the CPSU emphasize that in the future the party will continue to work tirelessly to foster in each Soviet citizen a combination of love for the homeland of October and for the land where he was

born and grew up, and pride in the creation of the first socialist state in history, on the one hand, and proletarian, socialistic internationalism and a feeling of class solidarity with the workers of the fraternal countries and with all who struggle against imperialism and for social progress and peace, on the other. As stated in the draft of the new edition of the Party Program, the CPSU will steadfastly endeavor to instill in every Soviet citizen the feelings of friendship and brotherhood uniting all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, the higher culture of community among ethnic groups, and intolerance of manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, ethnic discrimination and ethnic egoism, and of customs and attitudes which hinder the Communism renewal of life and man.

The highest form of humanism in ethnic relations, which has been firmly established in the USSR, stands in sharp contrast to the aggravation of national animosities in capitalist countries. This is particularly obvious in the conflicts between ethnic groups which are so characteristic of the multinational states of the contemporary capitalistic world. Examples of this are the Anglo-Irish confrontation in Ulster, the animosity between the English- and French-speaking populations of Canada, between the Flemish and the Walloons in Belgium, etc. We must also note the cruel exploitation of the foreign workers in Western Europe, which is accompanied by ethnic discrimination. Those who have fought against racial and ethnic oppression in the US, South Africa, and other capitalist countries have been subjected to severe retaliation.

In an antagonistic society the value of the human being per se is secondary, determined by whether one belongs to the privileged minority, by social and national affiliation. In socialist society, it is the human being himself who is of prime significance, regardless of the nationality or social group of the workers' society to which he belongs. As the founders of Marxism foresaw, true socialism has convincingly demonstrated to the entire world that the elimination of class antagonism eliminates ethnic antagonism as well. Through practical example, the new order has revealed true humanism in ethnic relations based on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism. Here lies the great humanistic significance of the new way of life which is true socialism.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Cf., e.g: Ye. V. Shorokhova, "Trends in the study of personality in Soviet psychology," PSIKHOLOGICHESKIY ZHURNAL, 1980, No 1; A.A. Leontyev, "Personality as a historical/ethnic category," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, 1981, No 3; A. F. Dashdamirov, "Problema lichnosti v marksistsko-leninskoy teorii natsiy i natsionalnykh otnosheniy," [The Problem of Personality in the Marxist/Leninist Theory of Nations and National Relations], Baku, 1984; I.S. Kon, "V poiskakh sebya. Lichnost i eye samosoznaniye," [In Search of Oneself. Personality and its Self-consciousness], Moscow, 1984, et al.

² Cf. A. N. Leontyev, "Deyatel'nost. Soznaniye. Lichnost." [Activity. Consciousness. Personality.], Moscow, 1975.

³ Cf., e.g., I.D. Dzhandildin. "Priroda natsionalnoy psikhologii," [The Nature of National Psychology], Alma-Ata, 1970; K.N. Khabibulin. "Samosoznaniye i internatsionalnaya otvetstvennost sotsialisticheskikh natsiy," [Self-consciousness and International Responsibility of Socialist Nations], Perm, 1974; A.F. Dashdamirov. "Natsiya i lichnost," [The Nation and the Individual], Baku, 1976; M.I. Kulichenko, "Natsionalnoye i internatsionalnoye v sotsialisticheskoy obraze zhizni," [The National and International in the Socialist Way of Life], Moscow, 1980; P. I. Gnatenko, "Natsionalnyy kharakter: mif ili realnost?" [National Character: Myth or Reality?], Kiev, 1984, et al.

⁴ R. Gamzatov, "I hear the songs of Dagestan," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 20 Jan 1981.

⁵ "Sovetskaya narod -- stroitel kommunizma," [The Soviet People -- The Builder of Communism], Moscow, 1981, p. 11.

⁶ Cf. Yu. Arutyunyan, L. Drobizheva, V. Kondratyev, A. Susokolov, "Etnosotsiologiya: tseli, metody i nekotoryye rezultaty issledovaniya," [Ethnosociology: Goals, Methods and Some Research Results], Moscow, 1984.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

ZASLAVSKAYA ON SOCIAL NEED FOR ECONOMIC CHANGES

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 5 Dec 85) pp 102-104

[Review by G. P. Merkulova of article by T. I. Zaslavskaya, "Economics Through the Prism of Sociology," EKONOMIKA I ORG. PROM. PR-VA, Novosibirsk, 1985, No 17, pp 3-23]

[Text] The interests of social groups depend upon their status in the system of economic, social, and political relations. The Leninist characteristics of classes (on the basis of their role in the social organization of labor, with respect to the means of production and the means of obtaining social wealth and the size of that share of the social wealth which they have at their disposal), the author feels, are completely applicable also for more limited groups that differ by their social status.

With respect to the first attribute, one isolates groups that differ by the nature of their functions in society and the specific content of their labor: workers in social production, representatives of the political authority, military personnel, literary and artistic figures, etc. Workers in production, on the basis of this attribute, are subdivided, on the one hand, into departmental-branch groups and labor collectives, and, on the other hand, into the representatives of physical and mental labor, executive and administrative labor, and definite types of professions.

With respect to the second attribute, one isolates the workers in the state and kolkhoz-cooperative sectors of the economy, as well as the owners of personal subsidiary plots who are not employed in the social sector. One also isolates groups that differ by the breadth and content of the rights for the disposal of social property.

With respect to the third attribute, one isolates families with various sources of income and a dissimilar income level. The behavior of all these groups has rather deep roots in the social structure of society.

The planned economy would be inconceivable without the direct administrative control of the basic types of economic activity. But regulation that is too detailed contradicts the status of the workers as the co-owners of the means of production, inhibits the development of the "sense of being the owner," and

hampers the complete revelation and use of people's capabilities. "By depriving labor of its creative elements and eliminating from it its truly human essence, it converts that labor into the execution of one's conscripted duty" (p 14). At the same time the lessening of the supervision of labor and economic activity leads to the intensification of uncontrollable elements and to the increase in the role of the behavioral factors.

As a whole "it is immeasurably more complicated to develop, implement, and assimilate a system for the economic administration of society than to administer with the aid of directives and orders" (p 14). The correlation between the administrative and economic methods of administering the USSR national economy, which was adopted as long ago as the 1930's, in essence has not changed during the 50 years that have elapsed. Meanwhile the productive forces have grown quantitatively and improved qualitatively. Tremendous shifts have occurred in the social characteristics of the workers. All this has intensified the variety of economic behavior and has complicated its content and motivations. The raising of the standard of living "has reduced the economic necessity of the strenuous labor of the workers for the sake of obtaining means of subsistence. Most of the social groups today have the capability of choosing between strenuous work that guarantees increased income and limited participation in social production with an average wage" (p 15).

One notes a reduction in the effectiveness of the administrative methods of controlling the economy, as well as the lessening of the effectiveness of the economic system as a whole that has developed. The chief social consequence of the lag between the economic mechanism and the demands of the time is expressed in the overgrowth of the administrative apparatus and in the reduction of the effectiveness of controlling the workers' activity and behavior. In particular, economic control is aimed primarily at limiting the behavior that contradicts social interests. But, as is well known, "persons who are required by their official duty to monitor to see that state interests are observed do not always prove to be on top of the situation and in some instances are capable of sacrificing social interests to the personal ones" (p 16). Consequently, their activity also needs to be monitored. All this leads to a multilevel system of administrative control and monitoring that inevitably takes on bureaucratic features; the rate of results of the administration lessens; and words frequently are at variance with deeds, and the reports are at variance with the real facts. In this regard there arises the conclusion "concluding the need to change the overall strategy of administering the human factor of production: the limitation of the administrative regulation of the economic activity and the concentration of attention on regulation and the encouragement of progressive methods of behavior" (p 16).

It is obvious that the reorganization of the wage system, the change of the principle of distribution of material blessings, and the removal of limitations on the size of the LPKh [personal subsidiary plot] are causing corresponding shifts in the social structure and the differentiation of society. The author concludes that "the real development of production relations occurs not only and not so much as a result of the occupational activity of the workers specially employed in this, as in the complicated

process of interaction among the socioeconomic groups occupying a different position in social production and pursuing contradictory interests" (p 19).

The attitude toward the reorganization of the economic mechanism in the direction of the broader application of economic methods of administration is differentiated most strongly for groups that can be isolated, depending upon their place in the hierarchical system of administration of the economy and upon the definite social types to which they belong. With respect to the second attribute, one isolates two types of workers. The first is represented by the most educated, skilled, and dynamic personnel who are striving for complete self-realization in labor and for promotion on the job. The workers of the other type "not without good reason, fear that under the new conditions the complication of their duties, the raising of the qualification requirements, and the need to be retrained and to change one's work style will worsen their position and therefore they are in no hurry to change the status quo" (p 22).

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SOCIAL ISSUES

BOOK ON 'NATIONAL CHARACTER' REVIEWED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO
KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 5 Dec 85) pp 166-170

[Review by A. F. Tsyркun of book by P. I. Gnatenko, "Natsionalnyy kharakter: mify i realnost'" [National Character: Myths and Reality], Kiev, Vysshcha shk., 1985, 152 pp; bibliography, pp 143-151]

[Text] The book consists of an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion.

Chapter I is "The Problem of National Character in the Pre-Marxist History of Philosophy." The author discusses the views on the problem of the national character which were taken by such philosophers as C. Montesquieu, I. Kant, D. Hume, G. Hegel, J. Fichte, C. Helvetius, etc. He points out that in the bourgeois philosophy and sociology of the second half of the eighteenth century, the question was raised concerning the peculiarities and reasons for the existence of the national character, and concerning the factors that contribute to its formation, the fact of the perpetuity and invariability of the national character was denied, its contradictory essence was revealed, and the idea of the equality of nations and races was advanced (by Helvetius). Despite the entire class and idealistic limitation of the approaches, the posing of these questions and the individual factors in their resolution were the merit of the authors mentioned.

Constituting a major contribution to the consideration of the problem of the national character were the ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats, who approached most closely to the Marxist understanding of it. V. G. Belinskiy, A. I. Gertsen, N. A. Dobrolyubov, and N. G. Chernyshevskiy posed the question of the link between the national and the universally human in the development of the national character, of the class approach in analyzing it, and of the decisive influence exerted by the concrete-historical and socioeconomic conditions upon the formation of the features of national character.

In Chapter II, "The Category of 'National Character' in the Works of the Classic Authors of Marxism-Leninism," the author sets forth the views of Marx, Engels, and Lenin concerning the problem of national character. A methodological prerequisite for their analysis of the category "national character" was the materialistic understanding of history. They approached the analysis of national character from class positions, in a concrete-historical

manner. Emphasizing the existence of common features that are typical of the particular national character, they at the same time noted the fundamental class difference between the character of the proletariat and the character of the bourgeoisie, concluding that it is precisely the bourgeoisie which is the custodian of the best features of national character.

In the works of the founders of scientific communism there is a lack of any generalized, universal definition of national character. They also failed to consider the question of its structure. However, the analysis that they made of the national characters of various nations, as well as the characters of various classes, attests to the fact that the content of the category "national character" was understood by them in a completely thorough and essential way.

The founders of scientific communism also were the first to pose in a scientific way the question of the dialectics of social and national psychology. A great merit of V. I. Lenin was his criticism of Bauer's psychological theory of the nation, which criticism is of great methodological importance for criticizing the psychological theories of the nation which have become widespread in modern bourgeois philosophy and sociology.

In Chapter III, "The Basic Features and Peculiarities of Modern Bourgeois Conceptions of National Character," the author subjects to criticism the conceptions of national character as presented by E. Barker, L. Snyder, A. Smith, N. Duker, R. Frieda, L. Lynn, F. Koler, L. Kolakovski [all names spelled as best guesses from Cyrillic transliterations], and other modern bourgeois philosophers sociologists.

The final chapter, "The Problem of National Character in the Philosophical Literature of the USSR," is a survey of the literature. In the author's opinion, national psychology consists of the following structural elements: 1) national character; 2) the mentality of the nation; 3) national awareness and national self-awareness; 4) national feeling. The determining aspect in the structure of national psychology is national character. It is the reflection of the constantly changing social existence. It is also necessary to keep in mind the relative independence in the development of national character. Its relationship with the economic basis is extremely mediated. The features of national character (in the form of traditions and customs) can be preserved for an extremely prolonged period of time after the change in the method of production, exerting both a positive and a negative effect upon the life of society.

National temperament, national psychology, and national character are by no means coinciding categories. The difference between national character and national temperament consists, in particular, in the fact that the national temperament includes emotional-volitional aspects of the reaction of a particular nation, which have been determined by social and geographic factors. "The formation of national temperament is also influenced by the genetic factor -- the types of higher nervous activity that predominate in the particular country" (p 108). As for national character, it forms under the influence of the historical and socioeconomic conditions. It would be incorrect to deny completely the influence that the geographic factor exerts

upon the formation of national character, but it is not the determining one, whereas "the formation of national temperament is also determined both by the genetic factor and the geographic factor (with precisely those factors being the determining ones)" (p 108).

National character is a complicated and contradictory sociopsychological phenomenon, in which there is a dialectical combination of the nationally specific and the universally human, which have been refracted through the prism of the historical and socioeconomic development of the particular nation and which have found their expression in its culture, traditions, customs, and ceremonies. The structure of national character consists of the following elements: 1) the universally human (which includes various kinds of value characteristics and premises); 2) the national-psychological, which is typical only of the particular nation, which has arisen on a national basis, which is in dialectical unity with the universally human, and which manifests itself through the culture of the particular nation, its traditions, customs, and ceremonies; 3) the social-class, which has passed through the prism of the national psychology and which has become embodied in the psychology of various classes.

The national character of a socialist nation is devoid of any class-antagonistic contradictions, manifests itself through a culture that is socialist in its content, and also through the traditions and ceremonies that have formed in the process of the building of the new society, which form the basis of the dialectical unity of the national and the international.

In the USSR there has formed such a phenomenon as the Soviet nature, which is typical of the Soviet nation as a new historical community of people. Forming its basis are the progressive international features of the nature of the socialist nations and nationalities in our country.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

YOUTH ATTITUDE TOWARD FAMILY EXAMINED

Marital-Family Relations

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 30 Jan 86) p 130

[Review by G. P. Merkulova of article by M. Matskovskiy, "Tendencies of Development of Marital-Family Relations in the USSR," in "Molodozheny" [Newlyweds]. Editorial board: D. I. Valentey (chief) et al., Moscow, 1985, pp 3-14]

[Text] The complexities of the modern family, especially the young one, "are largely affected by the change in the balance of forces influencing its stability. The outward forces that reinforce the marriage, such as the influence of public opinion, relatives, and neighbors, become less and less significant" (p 5). With the rise in education and culture, the spouses, especially the women, become more intolerant of conflict situations, and this leads to an increase in divorces.

Something that is becoming a typical feature of marital choice is its independence upon the traditions of the family and the will of the parents, its orientation on the personality features of the individuals. The author suggests that there is also a choice in the style of marital-family relations (temporary or permanent union). The individualization of the marital choice is also linked with the fact that "the marital-family relations of certain parents are such that they cannot be a positive example for the young people" (p 11).

More and more frequently the interests of career, occupation, and the development of the individual exert an influence upon the reduction of the traditional family functions. There is a process of the more active involvement of men in the activity of the family. Remote kinship contacts in large cities take on a formal nature. At the same time the parents, more and more frequently, provide material assistance to their adult children. A certain enlivenment of the contacts with neighbors is also noted.

Families in Large Cities

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 30 Jan 86) pp 130-131

[Review by G. P. Merkulova of article by T. Gurko, "The Young Family in the Large City", in book "Molodozheny". Editorial board: D. I. Valentey (chief)-et al., Moscow, 1985, pp 30-43)]

[Text] The increase in the number of divorces is making them an ordinary phenomenon. "This provides justification for many young people to enter into matrimony even in those instances when they do not believe that their family life can be successful" (p 32). Inasmuch as divorce seems to be a completely acceptable way out of a conflict situation, many spouses do not apply any efforts to maintain the marriage, and begin thinking about divorce, without attempting to change their own behavior or habits for the sake of preserving the family. An influence is also exerted by the fact that there has been an increase in the number of marriages "in which the young spouses are economically dependent upon their parents, do not have their own housing, and, most important, are not socially or psychologically mature" (p 33). Sociological studies among newlyweds in Moscow have revealed that the largest number of "successful" marriages, to use the author's definition, occur in the situation when either both spouses were born in a small town, or only the wife was. In this instance one sees the effect of the emphasis on the stability of the family and the lesser demandingness on the "satisfaction" with family life (p 35).

Although the level of education in each specific instance "does not depict the overall culture, refinement of the perceptions of human relations, or the nature and depth of the emotional experiences, that level, nevertheless, is closely linked with the views and interests of the husband and wife" (p 35). It has been ascertained that the least stable families are the ones in which only the wife has higher education.

Entrance into matrimony at an early age has a negative effect upon the stability of the family and upon the spouses' satisfaction with their interrelationships. Thus, young women frequently have difficulty in experiencing the lack of conformity between their romantic ideas about family life and reality. An extremely negative effect is exerted by premarital pregnancy. It has also been established that modern young wives, to a lesser degree than men, are oriented toward adaptive behavior in the family.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

POSITIVE, NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S WORK ROLE

Moscow ORSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 30 Jan 86) pp 131-134

[Review by P. I. Shlemin of book by E. Ye. Novikova, "Zhenshchina v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" [Woman in the Developed Socialist Society], Moscow, Mysl, 1985, 158 pp. Bibliography: pp 146-156.]

[Text] Active participation in occupational activity has become a distinguishing feature of the way of life of Soviet women. They are typified by the considerable expansion of social activity. At the same time, the perception and assimilation of social roles is not unlimited. There exists a "saturation" limit beyond which there arise a number of problems, primarily, the contradiction between occupational and family functions. Excessive involvement in household affairs, the author suggests, is the chief reason for the unequal opportunities for developing the individuality of the woman and the man. Certain differences exist between married and unmarried women, and between those who have children and those who do not.

A woman can develop freely and harmoniously only in conformity with her nature. "The separation of the universally human from that which is specifically female, and the exaggeration of the female principle, impoverish the individuality of the women and lead to the unnatural alienation of sex from the person, and to violence against nature, as a result of which human culture as a whole suffers" (p 29).

The granting to a woman of the same group of rights that a man possesses does not eradicate the inequality, inasmuch as the woman proves to be in an unequal position as a result of the social loads that are linked with maternity. This has been the reason for additional rights and benefits for women.

Women's occupational activity at the present time cannot be evaluated without its influence upon the demographic processes, and primarily upon the birthrate indicators. Proceeding from this, "the further reduction in the share of the able-bodied female population that is employed in the household and in the personal subsidiary plot is undesirable for social and economic reasons" (p 48).

The data provided by sociological studies has established that in all groups of women there is a stable orientation on labor. In particular, more than 60

percent of the persons surveyed would not quit their job even in the event that the husband alone earned as much as the husband and wife now earn. A larger and larger number of women see the sense of labor activity not only in increasing the family's income and reinforcing their own economic independence. They are "aware of the importance of labor as a high moral value, a vital necessity, a means of realizing their own capabilities" (p 49).

Among the workers in public health, physical culture, and social security, women in 1983 constituted 82 percent; public education, 75 percent; culture, 74 percent; and trade and public nutrition, 83 percent (p 54). As a result of the intensive and not always balanced growth in the number of women specialists, there have arisen a number of problems requiring immediate resolution, in particular, the feminization of public education and medicine. The author views as a positive phenomenon the increase in the percentage of women among scientific workers (in 1982, 40 percent) (p 55).

The lower level of proficiency of female workers is explained by the broad use of women workers in the mass occupations and in auxiliary production with low complexity of labor, which is paid for at low rates. In addition, many women look at work through the prism of the family and for them the factor that is in the forefront is not the opportunity to get promotions on the job and to raise their proficiency level, but the convenience of the job from the point of view of its closeness to their home, etc.

The author suggests that the inclusion of women in public and political life, from the positions of the needs and capabilities of mature socialism, is not yet sufficient. Various groups of women, in addition, make dissimilar use of the available opportunities for participation in public work.

The results of the sociodemographic research provide convincing evidence that the number of children in the family "is not simply a quantitative indicator, but is also an integral indicator that reflects the qualitative changes in people's psychology, in the structure of their family life, in the relations between the spouses, between parents and children, in the correlation of the roles within the family and outside it, in the position of the woman in the family and in society, etc." (p 90). The emphasis upon having a small number of children is the result of the influence exerted by a number of factors, among which the predominant one is the change in the circle of interests and needs. The confirmation in public opinion of maternity and paternity as socially significant values will help young people to become aware of the importance of their roles as parents.

The excessive workload placed upon the women in the household does not correspond to the norms of the socialist way of life. It has been noted that the equal distribution of household work between the husband and wife is more typical of young families, and also of spouses with a high educational level.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

BOOK ON NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION REVIEWED

Moscow ORSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 30 Jan 86) pp 151-153

[Review by A. F. Tsyркun, under rubric "Socialism and the Development of Nations," of book by I. G. Gorbachev, "Realizatsiya prava natsiy na samoopredeleniye v sovetskom gosudarstve: Problemy internatsionalizma" [Realization of the Right of Nations to Self-Determination in the Soviet State: Problems of Internationalism], Kazan, Izd-vo Kazan. un-t, 1985, 123 pp. Bibliography, pp 110-121]

[Text] Three of the four chapters in the book are devoted to questions of the history of national-state construction in our country: "The International and the National in Soviet State Construction Prior to the Formation of the Single Union Multinational State"; "Formation of the USSR and the Deepening of the Process of the Internationalization of Soviet State Construction During the Period of the Creation of the Foundations of Socialism"; and "The International and the National During the Period of the Growth in the USSR of the State of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat into a Nationwide Socialist State." The fourth chapter is "The International and the National in Soviet State Construction Under Conditions of Developed Socialism."

One can note four points of view relative to the natural law underlying national-state construction at the present stage. The first considers it to be the ascent from the lower forms of the Soviet national state system to higher ones. But "under conditions of developed socialist society, all the forms of the Soviet national state system... are relatively stable and to consider their 'ascent' to be a natural law in the improvement of Soviet state construction, as certain researchers assert, seems to be at least arguable" (p 99). This ascent took place at the initial stage of national-state construction, but today it is a stage that has been passed through. Of course, "inasmuch as the right of nations to self-determination has not lost its practical importance and continues to be preserved as one of the most important elements of socialist democracy, to that degree one cannot at the present time or in the foreseeable future deny the possibility of the arising and transformation of the forms of the Soviet national state system in the process of Soviet state construction," but "those individual factors cannot determine the content of the chief natural law" (pp 99-100).

Nor can the expansion of the rights of the national forms of the Soviet state system be the leading natural law for improving Soviet state construction, inasmuch as "objectively, this tendency can lead in the final analysis to the weakening of the state union of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, and that will also have a detrimental effect upon the development of all forms of the national state system" (p 100).

Another conception that is invalid is the conception of the "damping" of the national state system, which conception evolves from the underestimation of the viability and progressive role of the Soviet nations and their state system.

The point of view that seems to the author to be most reasonable is the one that the leading natural law underlying the improvement of Soviet national state construction is internationalization.

The international in the state life of nations is becoming more and more important and significant, but this absolutely does not mean the weakening of the national at the expense of the international. The internationalization of Soviet state construction would be inconceivable without the dialectical unity of the international and the national in this construction.

In the process of the internationalization of Soviet state construction, the intensification of the international is becoming an invariable and very important condition for the further flourishing of the forms of the Soviet national state system, and the growing rapprochement or reciprocal enrichment of the national forms of the political existence of nations and nationalities, which process develops on the basis of the flourishing of every national-state organization, leads to new levels in the state union of the Soviet nation.

The internationalization of the national state system is the reflection of the processes of internationalization in the economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual life of Soviet society and, in its turn, promotes that life. Lying at its basis is the development of the single national-economic complex. The author notes the importance of the development of the general international features in the material and spiritual life of the nations, the internationalization of the population makeup in the republics, etc.

The dialectics of the development of the international and the national at the stage of the nationwide state in Soviet state construction means not the mechanical crowding out of the national forms of the Soviet state system by the increasingly stronger state union of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, but the expansion, deepening, and intensification of the reciprocal influence and reciprocal penetration of the international state unity and the national forms of the political existence of the nations and nationalities.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

SOVIET PATRIOTISM, NATIONALITY POLICY

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V SSSR: SERIYA 1 -- PROBLEMY NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 86 (signed to press 30 Jan 86) pp 153-158

[Review by V. D. Grishchenko of book by V. Sh. Nakhushhev, "Sovetskiy patriotizm i internationalizatsiya zhizni narodov" [Soviet Patriotism and the Internationalization of the Life of Nations], Cherkessk, Stavrop. kn. izd-vo. Karachayevo-Cherkes. otd-niye, 1985, 253 pp.

[Excerpts] The book consists of an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion.

In the first chapter, "Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of the Internationalization of Social Life," the author directs attention to the fact that the generally Soviet "is not identical with the international. The generally Soviet is the result of the dialectical interaction of the national and the international. It is a qualitatively new phenomenon. It will lead to the attainment of the complete unity of nations and nationalities, which will complete in the future the process of internationalization in our country" (p 32).

The taking of an inattentive attitude to (this) problem sometimes leads researchers to equating patriotism with the national or the nationally specific in the life of nations. There are a rather large number of works in which it is asserted that the patriotic duty of the working class "lies in the protection of the national interests," that "the chief object of patriotism is the nationally specific, which is unique in its national form." One also encounters works whose authors make broad use of the term "national patriotism." There are researchers who assume that patriotism can be Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Georgian, Armenian, etc. (p 127). The author does not agree with that approach.

The structure of Soviet patriotism can be represented, the author feels, in the unity of the following elements: 1) love of one's "native land," "the land of our fathers," that is, the territory with which the history of the nation is linked, and love of the territory of the entire country; 2) concern for one's nation (nationality), native language, the development of national culture and of progressive traditions, and active concern for the Soviet

nation, for Soviet culture as a whole, love of the Russian language as the language of communication among the nationalities; 3) the sense of the dignity of one's own nation and respect for the dignity of the other fraternal nations; the national and nationwide pride of the Soviet citizen; 5) faithfulness to the socialist socioeconomic and sociopolitical system, the active struggle for the ideals of communism; 6) devotion to socialism as being the Homeland, and creative activity in the name of its flourishing; 7) the protection of the socialist Homeland as the highest stage in the awareness of responsibility to progressive mankind.

Not a single one of these structural elements, taken individually, can represent patriotism in its full volume. It is only in the unity of all the structural elements that the essence of Soviet patriotism can be expressed (pp 130-131).

Speaking about the unity of the national and the international in Soviet patriotism, the author points out that the international in Soviet patriotism also includes: a) conviction concerning the justice and necessity of the existence of the ideas of socialism and communism, in the superiority of socialism over capitalism; b) irreconcilability to the capitalist system, to exploitation; c) the strictest devotion to the ideas of communism; d) intolerance of any manifestations of bourgeois ideology; e) irreconcilability to the reformist "breadth" of views that conceal the class stratification of society; f) the consistent struggle against nationalism and chauvinism; g) hatred of class enemies; h) readiness for the armed defense of the socialist Homeland (pp 151-152). The exceptional importance of the factors that were mentioned lies in the fact that they presuppose the strict definiteness of views and convictions.

The fourth chapter in the book is "The Ideological Bankruptcy of the Falsifiers of Soviet Patriotism and Socialist Internationalism."

In the conclusion of the book the author sums up the results of the research that was conducted. He notes that the socialist Homeland today represents the complex unity of many structural elements, the knowledge of which is necessary for revealing the content of Soviet patriotism and for the further improvement of patriotic indoctrination. These structural elements can be divided into those that create types and those that create forms, and into the national and the international. The elements that create types include the socioeconomic and sociopolitical system; those that create forms include the territory, language (languages), nation (nations), the cultural sphere, etc. International elements in the socialist Homeland are all the type-creating structural elements, a cultural that is socialist in content, and the Soviet nation as an international community. The national elements in the socialism Homeland are the native languages, the form of culture, folk traditions, customs (p 241).

However, this by no means signifies that there are "purely" national and "purely" international structural elements in the Soviet Homeland. In each structural element, in one way or another, there is an embodiment of the unity of the international and the national. This has served well, and continues to serve, the reinforcement of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The structure of Soviet patriotism has two levels: the theoretical and the psychological. The theoretical level manifests itself in the form of the patriotic ideology, which acts as a harmonious system of views, principles, and ideas. It is based on the theoretically generalized social experience -- the historical and the modern. As compared with patriotic psychology, which forms at the level of everyday awareness in the process of people's vital activity, patriotic ideology forms as a result of the social efforts of ideologists in the particular area of social awareness. It represents the theoretical substantiation of the content of patriotism at a particular stage in the development of the Homeland.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

BRIEFS

ILLEGAL ELECTRICITY USE IN REPUBLICS--Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 27, July 1986 carries on page 19 a 400-word article by V. Zamarev, prosecutor for the General Supervisory Administration in the USSR Prosecutor's office. The article discusses the illegal use of electricity [i.e., use without payment for the service] and provides some statistics on the state's financial losses during the past 2 years. "According to the known facts, the value of the illegal use of electricity by such persons exceeded R30 million for the past 2 years." In the past year Moldavia is said to have lost R1 million, Armenia almost R400,000, Lithuania R300,000, and Georgia R230,000. The author states his belief that the new ruling on "unearned incomes" will help stem this problem and quotes from the RSFSR Criminal Code on possible punishments for such crimes. [Editorial Report] /9274

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